AKWESASNE NOTES

Volume 17, Number 5

FALL 1985

AKWESASNE NOTES
Mohawk Nation
via Rooseveltown, NY 13683

WHERE THE PARTRIDGE DRUMS

Subscription

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Students of Akwesasne Freedom School with Chief Jake Swamp and guests at Tree of Peace planting ceremony.

Akwesasne News
Akwesasne Freedom School
The American Indian Peace Movement: Past & Present
Mohawk Position Paper: Canada
The Canadian Leak
Alberta, Canada: Traditional Hunting Rights
White Earth, Minnesota: Racism
Indigenous Peoples Meeting: Geneva
Indigenous People of Peruvian Amazon
Peru's Disappeared
Discrimination Against Indigenous Populations

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Notes needs art work! Especially small graphic fillers.

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— Blank 60 minute cassette tapes.
— Light Bulbs.
— Garbage bags (all sizes), wall clocks, clock radio.
— Good used winter clothing, blankets.
— 35 mm camera in GOOD working condition.
— Darkroom equipment, tongs, trays, safe lights, negative file.
— All types of office supplies, size 10 reg. window and plain envelopes, correction fluid, memo and steno pads, file folders.
— 5¼" disketes, double sided, double density.
— 5¼" diskettes, single sided, single density.

How It Is With Us

Dear Friends,

After reading your paper for quite a number of years, I have decided not to renew my subscription to Akwesasne Notes.

The contents of your paper is more and more fixed upon what happens in other countries. There's very little inside news about the U.S.A. and Canada here. That's why I read your paper. To know about America and it's people and most of all the native people.

I have learned a lot and I thank you for it..., and the good service given. I wish you all the best in life, and with your paper.

Yours Sincerely
Meanteld de Milot
Van Borsseleianne 32
6711 JV ede (GLD)
The Netherlands

How It Is

It is said that the Tree of Peace has branches large enough to shelter all the nations of this earth. The practical reasoning from which the Great Law of Peace was conceived is an all-encompassing one. It includes all creatures and plants, all things animate and inanimate. It includes the air we breathe as well as the vast universe of stars born within the Creation. Everything.

As the races of men on this earth hurtle themselves toward final destruction, we who can, must continue to speak of Peace, of solutions to such things as pollution and health problems. Above all we must communicate the on-going acts of genocide against tribal people and nations everywhere. If our aboriginal Australian brothers and sisters suffer, it is our duty to communicate that suffering.

Whether it be East Timor or New Zealand, it is ours to let others know. We are a resource news-journal. This is the reason why we list contacts for more articles, and special contact lists and announcements in almost every issue. Our readers are usually the kinds of people who respond to calls for help. These responses, if voiced, by enough people, may help the group or organization of which we write.

Therefore, my friend, we will miss your readership, but Notes will continue its coverage of native people everywhere. Remember, the struggle for Peace and for Justice cannot be the property of one group or individual. Peace is a gift of Creation meant for everyone.

Aroniawenrate

A Journey For Peace To the United Nations

On August 15, 1985 Mohawk Chief Jake Swamp and his wife Judy, and two children, Kahontineh and Skahendowaneh, together with historican Dr. Gregory Schaaf travelled eastward from Akwesasne, the sovereign homeland of over 7,000 Mohawk people along the U.S.-Canadian border. The two main purposes of their journey was first to conduct a "Tree of Peace" ceremony with Japanese Buddhist monks in Leverett, Massachusetts, and second, to meet with Dr. Robert Muller, the Assistant Secretary General of the United Nations. The meeting with Dr. Muller covered the following topics of discussion:

1. The proposed call for an international ceasefire, the first attempt to stop all warfare around the world since the 14th century — Dr. Muller recommended that a declaration for peace from the Haudenausaunee, Iroquois Six Nations Confederacy, to the leaders of the world may be most helpful at this time. He suggested the statement be addressed to Paul J.F. Lusaka, President of the General Assembly, United Nations, New York, N.Y. 10017.

2. The 40th Anniversary of the end of World War II in Japan — Dr. Muller commented on how warfare may be overcome within 10 years, and peace may be realized. He pointed to growing world opinion against armed conflicts such as the Iran-Iraq War in the Middle East. Furthermore, the number of wars in the world today are relatively limited in relationship to the number of nations and people on earth. However, he said it will take longer for military leaders to be convinced to disarm or at least to limit the number of power weapons.

3. Buddhist Peace Efforts — Dr. Muller supports the efforts of Buddhists who are counstructing peace pagodas around the world. We told him

about one of these peace centers now being constructed at Leverett, Massachusetts. Earlier in the morning, we met with Cato and a group of Japanese Buddhists as their special guests. They are the followers of the late Most Venerable Master Fujii, a spiritual man who joined American Indians in 1978 for the Longest Walk and also united with Hopi Grandfather David Monongye and Haudenausaunee Chief Leon Shenandoah leading 500,000 people to the UN for the "Nuclear Disarmament Talks."

4. American Indian Peace Efforts — Dr. Muller feels the idea to plant "Trees of Peace" will have a similar healing effect around the world. We presented him with a copy of a recent article, "Tree of Peace for Harmony," *Akwesasne Notes* (Summer, 1985). Dr. Muller was so impressed with our achievements, he talked to a documentary film producer who recently returned from China where over 100,000,000 trees are being planted as part of the "International Tree Project" efforts to plant 1 billion trees around the world. The "Tree of Peace" addresses two main global issues: world peace and environmental preservation. Stopping the wars in a major step, but we must also work toward restoring a healthy planet, cleaning up pollution and reviving the natural balance of the cosmos.

5. The Morgan Papers — Dr. Muller expressed his good wishes for a book by Dr. Gregory Schaaf, *The Morgan Papers: The American Indian Peace Movement During the Revolutionary War.* Dr. Muller has written a foreword entitled "A Vision for Peace" to introduce the book based on the papers of American Indian Agent George Morgan, including original documents by George Washington, Thomas Jefferson, John Hancock, as well as direct quotations from the head chiefs, medicine people and women leaders from 30 Indian nations. Dr. Muller views the story as a positive contribution to the world environmental and peace movements. He was pleased that the book was being reviewed by the Haudenausaunee chiefs, and hopes the book will be published and distributed around the world as soon as possible.

6. U.S.-Soviet Union Summit Talks — This autumn Reagan and Gorbachev will be meeting to discuss future relations between the super-powers. Dr. Muller suggested that people around the world should go and hold our own summit talks to tell the media what the people really want.

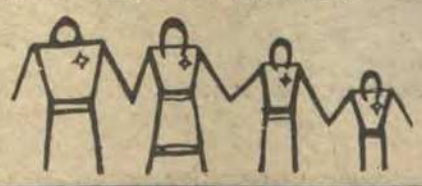
7. Akwesasne Freedom School — We presented Dr. Muller and his wife with a report on the Freedom School and other projects in the Akwesasne community. He applauded the efforts of the Freedom School, and said this is the type of educational program communities around the world need to help preserve cultural values. He expressed how important it is to preserve the original languages, such as Mohawk, Hopi, etc. Dr. Muller and his wife said they tried to find Akwesasne on the map last weekend, because they wanted to come and attend the Akwesasne School gathering. They couldn't find Akwesasne on the map, but expressed their desire to come another time.

Dr. Muller informed us about a "Baccalaureate Program" which the Mohawk Nation could join. This would allow students to receive a secondary diploma by taking a test in the Mohawk language. He thought it important that Mohawks be registered with their program which supports the credibility of traditional educational systems around the world.

8. Iroquois Constitution — Dr. Muller once saw a copy of the Iroquois Constitution and was very impressed with the structure of the government. He recognizes the Haudenausaunee as the "first United Nations." He asked us to send him an official copy of the Iroquois Constitution which he promised to give to a professor at Columbia University who is publishing a series of constitutions from sovereign nations around the world.

9. Prayer for Peace — Dr. Muller asked that all the Indian nations join the United Nations in observing a moment of prayer on "International Day of Peace," September 17th at 3 p.m. (EST). Many world peace groups are calling for all the nations on earth to honor a world wide cease fire on this day. This will be a prelude to a growing effort for 1986 "International Year of Peace."

(From INDIAN TIME, Vol. 3, No. 23)



Akwesasne Mother's Milk Project

AKWESASNE — In August of 1984, Katsi Cook started the Akwesasne Mother's Milk Project. The project began with the help of Maggie Terrance, the Health Educator for the St. Regis Mohawk Health Services and the Health Services Director, Michael Cook.

The purpose of the project is to measure contaminants in the breast milk of nursing mothers. Virtually all mother's have contaminants in their milk, many at levels above those permitted by law. Each generation of Mohawks at Akwesasne face increasing accumulation of contaminants which bioaccumulate in their fat stores over their life time. Contaminants such as PCB's and heavy metals are resistant to metabolic decomposition, and only known way to excrete large amounts of them is through pregnancy and lactation. In this way each succeeding generation inherits a body burden of toxins from their mothers.

Fish, one of the main dietary sources of mothers from Akwesasne come from contaminated waters and are considered as an added source of PCB's and mercury. Most breast milk studies have been done by investigators from outside the community has not been affected by contaminants first hand. It is of utmost importance that the scope of the breast milk project reflects the real needs of the community.

Katsi, as a midwife in our community observed that all mothers who deliver at home breast feed. Between 35 and 40 pregnancies are being managed by the St. Regis Mohawk Health Services each year. From these births, there are a fewer than expected number of mothers nursing their babies. The primary concern is to re-establish the practice of breast feeding in the community.

At the present time Katsi has twelve women in her program. Katsi said, "We need to develop long term strategies on how to deal with the problems we have encountered here at home. The women are the symbol of the earth, and the blood of our people is like the tributaries of water or the river, which we have used as the economic survival for our people for generations before the arrival of General Motors. Like the turtle which was caught by the St. Regis Mohawk Environmental Technician Doug Smoke and analyzed, everyone in the community gets all excited about it, and then it is forgotten. Women must be advised and made aware of environmental hazards, everyone must be educated about these hazards. It took the situation of the river 30 years to get that way, women living in incinerated areas will have a higher level of PCB's in them. Women who live on the reservation, especially the Canadian portion of the reservation need to participate in this project."

Dr. Brian Bush, from the Albany Department of Health is presently analyzing samples of breast milk for the project. Mothers who wish to enroll in the program may contact Maggie Terrance at (518) 358-2272. Twelve women are presently enrolled and have been registered since the beginning of June 1984. Fish is also a main part of these women's diets.

Katsi feels "If we don't start doing something about these problems, we are as guilty as they (GM) are. We must deal with this. The breast milk project is one aspect of dealing with these pollutants. We have our own little 'Love Canal' here, because our community has been exposed to toxins. Many people don't understand General Motors has a corporate responsibility to clean up the mess they have caused."

The Akwesasne Mother's Milk Project needs more women to sample. The study is dependent upon these women for its continuation. To prevent further contamination, we must combat these things for the future. General Motors is putting up a fence to keep people and children away, but what happens to the people and the children as well as wild life and natural resources that have already have been exposed? There has already been documentation of two fires, two controlled burns that General Motors have already had within the past ten years. These fires have released dibenzophurfrans and other dioxins into the air. Women must learn the possible side effects of these toxins.

Funding for the Akwesasne Mother's Milk Prject comes from a private grant through the New York State Department of Health. All data collected for the project's use is private and confidential. Women who are registered with the project are told what their results are, after their data has been analyzed.

Pregnant and lactating women should contact Maggie Terrance and register in the program so that the project will be able to continue. A number of breast feeding mothers are needed to provide documentation and data for the project so that this project will have a random sample of all mothers at Akwesasne, not just certain ones from certain areas. Katsi stresses the need for breast feeding mothers from Cornwall Island, Snye and St. Regis to register so that a complete set of data could be taken. Any breast feeding women interested please contact Maggie Terrance at (518) 358-2272.

Cindy Terrance

(Source: INDIAN TIME, Vol. 3, No. 23)

Haudenosaunee on Selective Service

Mr. Wildred L. Ebel
Deputy Director of Selective Service
Selective Service System
National Headquarters
Washington, D.C. 20435

Haudenosaunee
Onondaga Nation
Hemlock Road, Box 319-B
via Nedrow, New York 13120

Dear Mr. Ebel:

We were surprised and dismayed by your letter of July 17, 1985, addressed to Tadodaho, Onondaga Nation and the letter to our young men dated August 6, 1985. At the meeting of May 12, 1985 we agreed that there would be another meeting since we had presented only a portion of our position on that day due to the late arrival of your delegation because of travel difficulties.

We also agreed not to speak to the media because we had not finished our meeting. This was important because we did not want the media to distort our talks because of the sensitive issue being discussed.

The treaties that you have reviewed should be discussed with the representatives of the Haudenosaunee, Six Nations, Iroquois Confederacy. Have you discussed or reviewed the Treaty of Neutrality accomplished by the Commissioners George Morgan, Dr. Thomas Walker, Col. John Montgomery, John Farvie,Esq., Jasper Yates Esq., agent for the United States, council at Pittsburgh, Pa. Oct. 15, 1776? "...We don't wish you to take up the hatchet against the Kings Troops. We desire you to remain quiet at home and not join either side but keep the hatchet buried deep: in the name and behalf of all our people we desire you to love peace and maintain it, and to love and sympathize with us in our trouble, that the path may be kept open with our white people and yours to pass and repass without molestation," and further "... We would not ask you to fight our battle wherein you may lose many of your young men; we think we are able to meet our enemies in the fields and woods without involving our Indian allies in war."

The theme remains constant throughout the following treaties. The Haudenosaunee has always maintained the right to decide for itself if the nations would commit to war. We cannot be sure what you have studied. We have unpublished sections of the Treaty of Fort Stanwix of 1784.

On May 12th we discussed the Treaty of Canandaigua of 1794. This treaty is referred to as the George Washington Treaty, after the author, and also the Pickering Treaty, after the agent who presented the treaty. We then discussed the meeting between the Six Nations and the United States in 1812 with Red Jacket being the principle speaker. This is as far as we were able to proceed that day and it was understood that you as representatives of the selective service and the United States would hear the rest of our presentation.

Therefore, we ask that you remain true to your word and hear our position on the Constitution of the United States, the Fourteenth Amendment, the Dawes Act of 1887, the Citizenship Act of 1924, the Wheeler-Howard Act of 1934, the trial of Warren Green, 1942, 25 U.S.C.A. 232, 1950, the Indian Civil Rights Act of 1968, the 1975 Helsinki Final Act Articles 7 and 8, and finally the position of the Mothers of the Haudenosaunee on the moral issues of contemporary conflict, genocide and the disruption of our Way of Life.

We enclose a copy of the Declaration of Principle that have been accepted by the Working Group of Indigenous Populations under the authority of the Division of Human Rights of the United Nations.

This is a sharply curtailed listing of documents and positions not yet presented. Given the seriousness of the issue and in all fairness we would be able to present our full position for your understanding. Your letter of July 17, 1985 cuts off dialogue between the two nations, executes a decision before all material is presented, violates court decisions, does not allow us the time to address the problem with Congress, and the date for withdrawing suspension of prosecution is too hasty, and it violates our treaties.

Our young men have been instructed not to register by the Grand Council of the Haudenosaunee and they cannot be singled out as individuals for prosecution for obeying their government.

We trust that you will respond favorably to our request to finish the meeting and presentation and we strongly recommend that you withhold from taking your intended actions. We suggest that we meet again on August 24, 1985 and the 25th if necessary.

signed
Mrs. Audrey Shenandoah
Secretary
Six Nations Grand Council

Dawnaytoh,
signed
Chief Leon Shenandoah
Tadodaho

Akwesasne

The Importance of Language and the Tree of Peace Project

Dear readers of the Akwesasne Notes and supporters of the Akwesasne Freedom School,

This year as our school started classes, we were especially apprehensive, as to what this year would bring.

During the last school year our teachers, staff and parents held a series of meetings, to discuss the implementation of a total immersion program for this school year, and finally after much careful deliberations we decided to take on this very important realization.

There have been numerous surveys done in the United States as well as Canada, about the level of survival of native languages.

The results of these surveys, is very alarming, especially where native people are concerned.

The Mohawk Nation of people, are going to be taking a greater stance in preserving the language.

The Mohawk Nation has a population of 21,000 people situated in seven different communities, on both sides of the so called U.S./Canada border, of the total population, only 3,000 people of the Mohawks still speak the language.

Linguists tell us that in order for any language to survive, three quarters of the populations must be using the language regularly.

These findings and figures have prompted the Akwesasne Freedom School, even more so, to immediately implement total immersion programs, for all grade levels.

During the past summer months some teachers and staff had to be employed in the development of a total immersion curriculum. This has caused a financial hardship, yet the importance of the language is top priority.

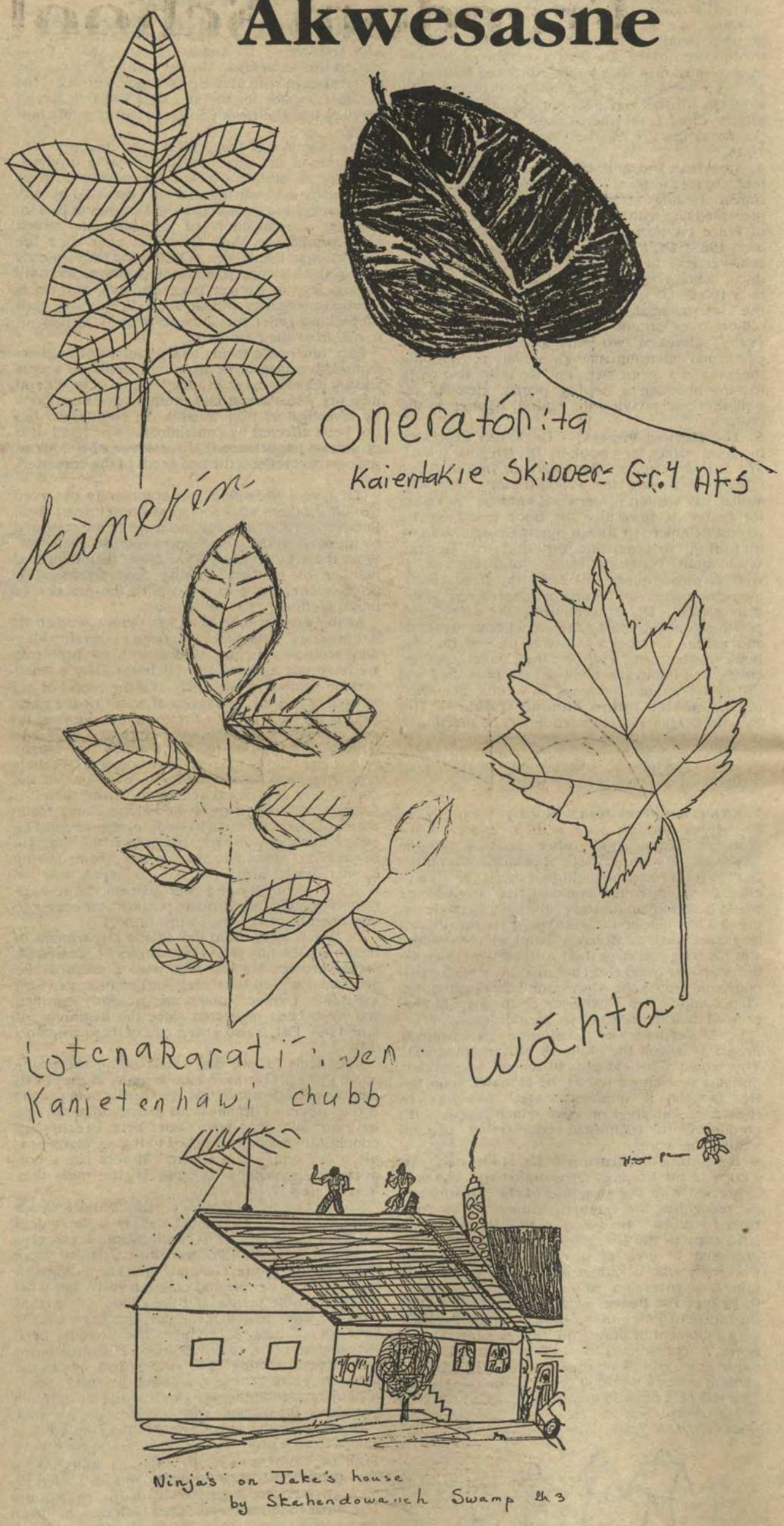
Even though these are the present realities that have to be faced, the people of the Akwesasne Freedom School, would like to also share with the readers a glimpse into the future, as seen in the hopes and dreams of our people.

Today the most crucial need is for the achievement of peace between all humanity. we feel that in order to achieve this, those basic understandings of the universe, must be installed in every curriculum of learning institutions.

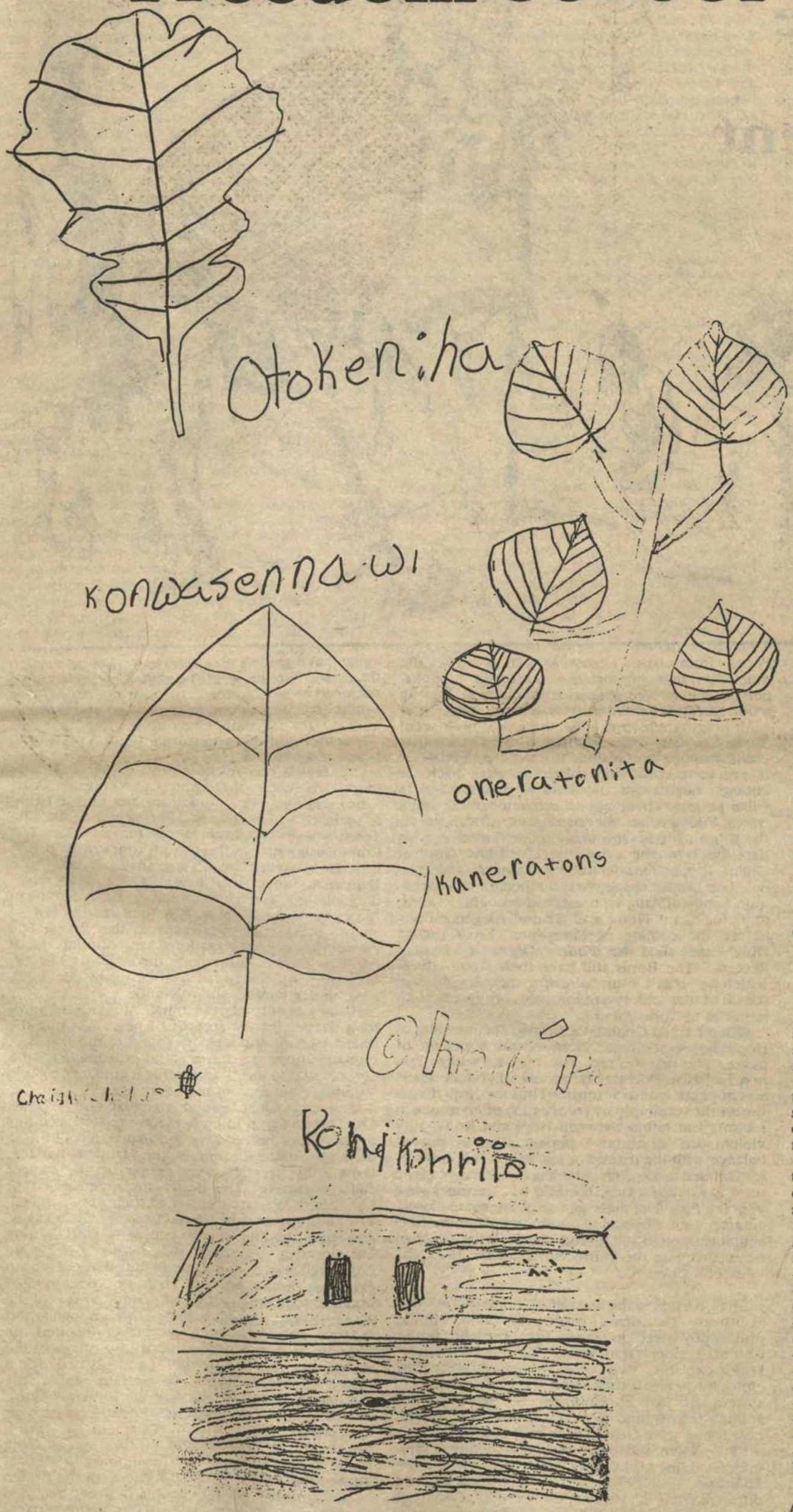
Presently our students are actively involved in the promotion of global peace and environmental concerns, their involvement in the Tree of Peace Project is a part of their own culture and heritage.

Recently they were involved in the production of a documentary film, which will be coming out in January of 1986, which will be shown nationally and internationally.

The film will be narrated by the two time Academy Award nominee James Whitmore and the legendary folk singer Pete Seeger. This documentary film was written and directed by Jack Wandell.



Freedom School



On October 5, 1985, the Akwesasne Freedom School students will be attending the dedication ceremonies of a Japanese Peace Pagoda in Leverett, Massachusetts.

We feel the involvement of our students in these very important events, helps to reinforce those basic principles amongst our students, and better equip them for the preservation of the environment and all the natural resources.

Last year and a part of the year before we have had continued use of a sponsorship program, which has given a great deal of help in the purchasing of badly needed materials used in aiding the teachers with their students.

This year we will continue to be in need of those special materials, especially those that can be used in the development of the total immersion program.

Up to this point we really consider ourselves lucky that you, the supporters of the Akwesasne Freedom School, are still standing with us. Without your support our load would be much heavier.

The teachers, staff and students are sending their thanks and greetings, to all those wonderful people who have made it possible for the Akwesasne Freedom School, to continue on course.

We continue to welcome contributions, in any amount. If you wish to make a tax deductible donation, it can be sent to:

Viola Whitewater Foundation
c/o Jimmy Little Turtle
4225 Concord St.
Harrisburg, PA 17109
(717) 774-7212
OR
The Onake Foundation
c/o N.A.I.T.C.
R.R. 3
Cornwall Island, Ontario
Canada K6H 5R7
(613) 932-9452

Akwesasne Freedom School

The Akwesasne Freedom School has entered its sixth year of operation with a total Mohawk Immersion Program. The teachers are developing the curriculum on a daily basis as well as teaching in class.

The work load has become so enormous that they are asked the Parent Committee to shorten the school week for the students to four (4) days. This enables the teachers to plan and develop curriculum for weeks in advance.

Not to mention the low pay the teachers receive, they are also asked to work with a minimal amount of supplies to making teacher aid materials, charts and illustrations.

We are asking you, the Supporters of the Akwesasne Freedom School, to contribute the following items:

— 11 x 17 photo copy paper,
— 8½ x 11 photo copy paper,
— 8½ x 14 photo copy paper,
— Construction paper,
— Sketch pads,
— Garbage cans for classrooms,
— Chalk,
— Bristle Board,
— Markers,
— Contact paper (clear),
— File folders (Legal and letter size),
— Scissors

Your help in any way will be greatly appreciated.

Thank you.

Brian Skidders, Director

Address: Mohawk Nation, Box 290, Rooseveltown, N.Y. 13683, Tel. (518)-358-2073.

The American Indian Peace Movement: Past & Present

by Gregory Schaaf, Ph.D.

One of the most important contributions to the world, American Indians wish to offer, is their long tradition of peace. Although most books, articles and Hollywood movies have focused only on American Indian warrior societies, an ancient peacemaking tradition existed since the dawn of history and is still being practiced today. The present work for peace involves current issues including human rights, land rights, treaty rights and the future of seven generations to come. One of the strongest bodies of evidence for the existence of a peace movement among Indian societies during the American Revolution is preserved in the *Morgan Papers*, a collection of mostly unpublished documents focused around the first American Indian Peace Treaty in 1776.[1] This article will search back to the origins of peace, span the historic highlights of efforts to perserve peace and report on recent achievements by Indian leaders who promote peace. At a time when Mother Earth is threatened by man's capacity for global destruction, perhaps we could all benefit by pausing for a moment to focus on the timeless message of the "American Indian Peace Movement."

In the beginning, according to many Indian creation stories, the cosmos was at peace. Some say the Great Creator began with a song or divine breath to form this land and life. Most agree that everything was created for a purpose. The cycles of the animals, plants, and insects, the changing of the seasons, the ebb and flow of the tides — all were created to exist in harmony with human beings in accordance with the laws of nature. Life was not created for man to destroy life through greed, violence, or war. As time passed, a dark period began when many forgot the original purpose of life. After a series of disasters, people began to desire a return to peace as a way of life. Peace means more than life without war. Principles of peace were woven into a way of life intended to honor the laws of nature by practicing a spiritual philosophy which teaches respect for all and life. These principles of peace are often referred to by traditional elders as the "Original Divine Instructions."

My search for the ancient roots of peace have led me from distant archives to the circles of wise elders who are still holding onto the Original Divine Instructions received by their ancestors from the Great Spirit or the Great Peacemaker. Among the Haudenausaunee (Iroquois Six Nations Confederacy), these instructions are called Kaianerekowa or "Great Law of Peace." By comparing this standard with the principles of Native People from coast to coast, as well as among the oldest writings of societies on earth, a global perspective is emerging as a foundation for the world peace and environmental movements.[2]

Although these universal teachings may seem foreign at first to non-Indians, Hopi Grandfather David Monongye explained that we are all related.[3] If everyone could trace their ancestry back far enough, our distant ancestors were organized as tribal people. There were Germanic tribes, Celtic tribes, Viking tribes, Siberian tribes, African tribes, the tribes of Israel and many more. Tribal legends describe how the people received the Original Divine Instructions which are universal and eternal. The Lenni Lenape, Grandfathers of the Algonquin family of nations, preserved accounts of creation, the Great Flood and a hundred generations before the coming of Europeans. Their record tablets are called the *Wallam Olum* or "Radiant Record." The Hopis still have their stone tablets which serve as a foundation for their societies in some of the oldest continously occupied communities in North America.[4]

When I asked Grandfather David the meaning of Hopi, he responded, "Hopi means a person of peace. You may be red. You may be white. You may be black. You may be yellow. If you are a person of peace, you are Hopi."[5] Thus the Hopi divide the world not simply by race (which often results in racism), but rather between Hopi and Ko-Hopi, a violent and destructive person who is out of balance with the natural order. When this concept is extended to a society which is out of balance, the term is Koyanaskaatsi, the title of a recent award winning film. The message is to look more closely at our present life, and to ponder the rhythm of life echoing through the Grand Canyon, the point of emergence into the fourth world for the Hopi, the "Peaceful Ones."[6]

Their friends to the west, the Chumash Nation of Southern California also shared a similar philosophy based on respect for the laws of peace. Chumash elder Grandfather Victor "Sky Eagle" Lopez explains, "We were given four Great Principles for peace: *Justice* — preserve a fair and equal system of justice; *Kindness* — treat people, animals, plants, and even a tiny insect with kindness for all were created for a purpose; *Understanding* — listen and think carefully to gain a clear understanding; and the most difficult of all? *Tolerance* — to be tolerant of people who have a different color of skin or speak a different language or have different shaped eyes."[7] These four principles have guided the Chumash, who painted on the rocks, like the Hopi, a design of a circle with a balanced cross pointing to the four directions. This symbol has been found in ancient art and writings around the world. One translation explains, "Together with all nations, we hold the world in peace and harmony."[8]

One law is recognized almost universally from the native people of the Americas to Europe, Asia, Africa and Australia — to kill another human being is against the Great Laws. For example, the Old Testament relates how Moses received the Ten Commandments on the top of a mountain which includes a divine law, "Thou shall not kill." The Haudenausaunee Great Law of Peace states regarding killing, "You have committed a grave crime in the eyes of the Creator."[9] A fundamental law of almost every society on earth is that killing is a crime. However, international wars and interracial conflicts have continued throughout history, because people have failed to honor justice, kindness, understanding and tolerance.

History is not only the annals of war. One must look deeper for the records of peace. Among the oldest legends and writings found in the annals of human history are stories about peacemakers who combined diplomacy and spiritual guidance to help societies emerge from the "dark ages."

Onondaga Chief Leon Shenandoah and Mohawk Chief Jake Swamp and others have related accounts of the Great Peacemaker who appeared during a dark age in the history of the Haudenausaunee. Over 1000 years ago, some people became violent and destructive. The desire for revenge led to bloodshed. Warfare threatened their very survival. The Peacemaker then arrived from the Great Lakes, and risked his life to urge people to stop abusing one another. He stated that human beings are capable of reason, and through the power of reason everyone desires peace.[10] Therefore, people must organize to make peace possible and to prevent the abuse of other human beings. Through logical and spiritual reasoning, the Peacemaker inspired the warriors to bury their weapons (the origin of the saying "to bury the hatchet") and planted atop a sacred "Tree of Peace." Dr. Robert Muller, the Assistant Secretary General of the United Nations, contends, "This profound action stands as perhaps the oldest effort for disarmament in world history." The continuation of this peacemaking tradition was witnessed in the Summer of 1982 at the Second Session on Disarmament for the United Nations. Almost 500,000 people of peace marched to the UN led by Hopi Grandfather David

Monongye, Onondaga Tatodaho Leon Shenandoah and a Japanese Buddhist the late Most Venerable Nichidatsu Fujii. Mohawk Chief Jake Swamp recently conducted a "Tree of Peace" ceremony with these Buddhists to bless the site of the first North American Peace Pagoda at Leverett, Massachusetts. Closer relations between East and West are growing through peaceful exchanges of ideas and cultural exchanges of our heritage.[11]

The theme of the "Tree of Peace" is universal. According to Dr. Robert Muller, "One of the most important symbols of our ancestral heritage was the image of a Tree of Peace or Tree of Life."[12] Accounts of the Tree of Peace have been found on hieroglyphic papyrus rolls in the pyramids of Egypt, cunnieform tablets from ancient Sumeria, as well as the oldest writings of India, China and Africa. Most cultures have traditions — like the Christmas Tree, May Pole, the Sundance Pole and many more — which symbolize peace, rebirth and renewal. Nathalie Novik of the Society of Inter-Celtic Arts and Culture remarked, "...the oak, the sacred tree of the Druids, is still considered the king of trees...[and] the presense of mistletoe on an oak showed the tree had been elected by the gods..." (If you've ever been kissed under the mistletoe, now you know the reason why!)

The Chumash of Southern California also respect the oak as a sacred tree. Grandfather Victor "Sky Eagle" Lopez explained to a group of school children at a recent "Tree of Peace" planting, "May the Creator bless each and everyone of you. He will see these beautiful trees grow up and bear fruit for all of us. See this beautiful soil that the Creator has given us, so that we can plant and live in peace with all the people of the world."[14]

Many peacemakers throughout history have shared a similar vision of a sacred "Tree of Peace," as the Oglala holy man Black Elk dreamed, "I heard the white wind blowing gently through the tree...and from the east a sacred pipe came flying on its eagle wings...beneath the tree, spreading deep peace...we camped in the sacred circle...and in the center stood the holy tree...And I say the sacred hoop of my people was one of many hoops that made one circle, wide as daylight and as starlight, and in the center grew one mightly flowering tree to shelter all the children of one mother and one father. And I saw that it was holy."[15] When entering a Lakota sweat lodge, one says, "For all my relations." Their elders explain that this means not only human beings, but includes all land and life, for the past, present and future generations.

Chief Jake Swamp shares a similar concern for the preservation of world peace and the future of our children: "We must have respect for what the Creator has given us, for the Mother Earth, and everything she holds for our benefit...our teachings [state] that we must make a place for our children seven generations into the future."[16] The Haudenausaunee chiefs and clan mothers encourage everyone to assume a responsibility to help promote a more peaceful world for the future.

I first met the Hodenosaunee chiefs and clan mothers two years ago at a meeting of the Grand Council in Onondaga. I was invited to confer with them on two matters: first, to share the knowledge preserved in the *Morgan Papers,* a collection of rare letters and manuscripts which prove the Iroquois took a stand for peace and neutrality early in the Revolutionary War, and that the United States made certain promises related to the sovereign rights of the Indian nations; and secondly, to seek the counsel and advice of the Hodenosaunee regarding an invitation to speak in the United Nations.

By retracing the "White Roots of Peace" I found my way to Onondaga where the Peacemaker buried the hatchets beneath the Tree of Peace. Since the United Nations stands near their homeland, it seemed appropriate that I should come here to the center of the first United Nations. Upon entering the longhouse, I was greeted warmly by the Onondagas — the firekeepers who are like the executive branch, the Mohawks and Senecas — the elder brothers who are like the Senate, the Oneidas, Cayugas and Tuscaroras — the younger brothers who are like the House of Representatives, and the Clan Mothers who are like the Supreme Court. The meeting began in a traditional way with prayers for peace and greetings being offered by each speaker who held up strings of shell beads called wampum — one of the gifts originally delivered by the Great Peacemaker.[17]

I was first introduced to the art of wampum diplomacy in 1976, when I discovered the *Morgan Papers,* a collection of Revolutionary War documents including letters written by George Washington, Thomas Jefferson, John Hancock and the private journal of George Morgan, the first U.S. Indian agent. Morgan's journal contains profound statements seeking peace on earth expressed by the head chiefs, tribal ambassadors, medicine people and women leaders from over thirty Indian nations. For more than two centuries the *Morgan Papers* were kept secret. I shared these papers with the Lenni Lenape and Hodenosaunee, because much of the material related to the original promises made by the United States to their ancestors.

I first presented a copy of the John Hancock letter which directed Morgan to take a "Great Peace Belt with 13 diamonds and 2,500 Wampum beads" to the sachems and warriors of the western Indian nations. The purpose was to "convince them of the good wishes and good intentions of the Congress...[and to] inspire them with sentiments of Justice and humanity..."[18] Morgan's journal contained evidence this action by the Continental Congress marked a major turning point which signaled the inevitable break with England. Only 76 days before the "Declaration of Independence," Congress ordered Morgan westward on a mission of peace, because the Indian nations potentially held the balance of power which could support or crush the Revolution.

Morgan sent the 13 diamonds peace belt, symbolizing the 13 United Colonies, to the Grand Council at Onondaga with the following message:

> Brothers,
>
> When we met around our Council Fires at Albany and Pittsburgh last year we buried all evil thoughts, smok'd the Pipe of Peace & renewed the Covenant Chain of Friendship which your Forefathers & ours had made...[19]

Morgan opened the oration in a traditional way by recalling past relations. Both governments vowed in 1775 to preserve the peace between their nations, and the agreements were sanctified by prayers communicated through the sacred pipe. The "Covenant Chain of Friendship" represented the original peace agreement sealed through the smoke of a pipe with a silver chain linked to the stem, symbolizing the prayers for everlasting peace between Indians and Europeans. Morgan then made certain "no rust" had formed on their "Chain of Peace":

> We hope nothing has happen'd to change your Hearts, for our's remain strong & we are determined to keep fast hold of the Covenant Chain of Peace...[20]

Morgan may have spoken sincerely from his heart, but the fact remained that some of his superiors were not determined to preserve the peace.

General George Washington needed strong fighting men, and he stated that he thought the Indians would not remain neutral and would either side with the British or the American Revolutionaries. Washington and other generals lobbied Congress to offer the Indians bounties up to $100 for British officers. British Governor Henry Hamilton also was reported to have offered the Indians bounties for scalps.

Indian Agent George Morgan unleased a fervent verbal attack against those who tried to destroy the peace:

> But Brothers we are told there is a bad Wind blowing your way & that the Evil Spirit is striving to blind your Eyes & shut your ears from all Good & to make Mischief between you & your Brethen of the United Colonies...[21]

Who was the "Evil Spirit"? Morgan was referring to the British who were trying to incite the Indians to fight against the Americans in the Revolutionary War. However, now that Congress approved Washington's request to enlist the Indians, the parents of the Six Nations would soon become concerned for the well being of their older boys and young men.

Morgan advocated cooperation between the Indians and the American Revolutionaries, and promoted peace by pointing out the fact they were both born in the same country:

> Now as we esteem you just like our own Flesh & Blood being all the Children of this Continent, & want to live in Peace with you upon it forever.[22]

If more people shared these harmonious sentiments and worked for peace with dedication, the course of American history could have changed dramatically. Although the rich North American continent provided enough for everyone's needs, apparently even this bountiful land could not fulfull everyone's greeds.

Morgan then explained the purpose of the Great Belt of Peace:

> We send this Belt of Wampum to enquire the Truth of what we have heard and desire you will open your minds to us by a Deputation of your Wisest Men that we may know if you have any just cause of Complaint against us, for if you have you may rely on our Endeavours to satisfy you immediately on your application, and if you have none we hope you will tell us so that the sorrow may be removed from our Hearts...[23]

The Belt of Peace was meant to dispel from their hearts any thought of war and to promote peace as a foundation for future American Indian relations. This wampum belt was to form an alliance of peace, not war. Morgan warned them against anyone who spread negative rumors about the Americans and threatened to disrupt their mutual happiness:

> In the mean time Brethren we desire you to be cautious how you listen to bad Birds who no doubt will endeavor to sing evil stories into your Ears — The happiness of you and our Women & Children as well as that of many other Nations inhabiting this Country depends upon your Prudence at this time — Therefore be strong Brethren in preserving peace...[24]

Morgan hinted that the "bad birds," such as British officers at the upcoming meeting near Niagara Falls, would "sing evil stories in their ears." Morgan warned the Six Nations that the safety of their women and children would be endangered, if they jumped into the Revolutionary War. The Grand Council soon sent two chiefs to bring back any of their young men involved in the war.

Morgan had no way of knowing his work for peace was being undermined by special interest groups, as he directed his words to the head chiefs:

> ...if you have not heard before from us through our Agent to the Northward, We desire this Belt & message may be delivered to the Big Cinder and other Chiefs of the Onondaga Council without delay...[25]

The Big Cinder or Keeper of the Fire served as the Tadodaho, who opens the meetings of the Grand Council.

The Tatodaho was nominated by the clan mothers and appointed for life, as long as he did not jeopardize the welfare of his people. He could not dictate, but rather governed by wisdom, humility and implementing the wishes of his people. In Iroquois society a good leader must never place himself above his people. The Tatodaho was said to have "skin the thickness of seven layers of bark," meaning that people could speak sharply to him, but he would not be permanently harmed. In contrast, a chief must speak with soft words, guiding people through logic and spiritual means.

Iroquois chiefs were (and are) both political and religious leaders. They did not separate, as the Europeans would say, church and state. The Americans adamently demanded such a division, because the institutionalized churches in Europe had usurped their power during the Inquisition and other periods of persecution. If an Iroquois chief wantonly abused his power, the clan mothers would have a sub-chief warn him that his actions were against the wishes of the people. If he did not heed this warning or a second, then the third time the clan mothers would strip him of his power, and overnight he would no longer be a chief.

The American Revolution placed tremendous pressure on the chiefs of many Indian nations, including the Hodenosaunee, who were responsible for advising their people on the best course to survive the war. Morgan warned them not to get involved physically in the war, but rather to choose the path of peace:

> We wish our Brothers the Six Nations may deliberate well upon the measures they will pursue, and consider it is Peace we recommend to them. We hope they will not blow the unhappy Coal nor interfere in the Quarrel which now subsists between [your American] Brethren [and] the English.[26]

Morgan and the leaders of the American Indian Peace Movement tried to prevent the Revolutionary War from spreading across the frontier like wildfire. However, the act of Congress to enlist Indians would inevitably "blow the unhappy coal," sparking some of the Indians to violence and inflaming Indian country in the bloody war.

The Six Nations were not strangers to war. They had survived over 250 years of intermittent warfare since first contact with the Europeans. Wars over the fur trade were especially divisive, pitting tribe against tribe. Morgan contended that most White People were not corrupt and warlike, as evidenced by the efforts of some White peacemakers:

> If they will recollect the Great [progress] we took a few years ago in accomplishing

the happy Peace between the Northern & Southern Indians, they must undoubtedly think it their duty as well as Interest now to promote Peace between us.[27]

Morgan concluded on a religious tone by appealing to the spiritual nature of the traditional Hodenosaunee people. He acknowledged that both the Iroquois and people around the world prayed to the same Creator. If the peacemakers were to survive and to ease the threat of war, divine help would be needed to guide them through this time of peril:

> We pray that the Great & good Spirit who governs everything in this World may look down with Pity on the Six Nations & grant them his Aid in this good Work.
>
> A Belt of Wampum with 13 Diamonds united 10 Rows 250 long is 2500----------28

This belt of wampum was six feet long and half a foot wide. It also represented an invitation to attend the first American Indian Peace Treaty scheduled for September.

In June of 1776, Iroquois ambassadors took bold steps by voicing their position personally before the Continental Congress. They made an appeal for the American Revolutionaries to recognize the Six Nations Confederacy and expressed their dedication to promote peace and friendship. Beyond opening diplomatic relations with the Revolutionary Council, the Iroquois also sought to open free trade and commerce, as well as requesting for American's to recognize the Indians' territorial sovereignty.

Led by an Onondaga Chief, the delegation was invited into Independence Hall to meet President John Hancock, Thomas Jefferson, John Adams and the other delegates of Congress. After some ceremony, Hancock spoke from a prepared speech:

> Brothers,
>
> We hope the friendship that is between us and you will be firm, and continue as long as the sun shall shine, and the waters run; that we and you may be as one people, and have but one heart, and be kind to one another like brethren.[29]

In the classic style of Indian oratory, Hancock voiced the original promise to the Indians. If these vows would have been honored, the future relationship between the American and the Indians may have been founded on the Great Law of Peace. The Hodenosaunee gave John Hancock an honorary name which means "The Great Tree of Liberty."

They named George Morgan the "Council House." The Shawnee called him the "White Deer." The Lenni Lenape (Delaware Indians) called him "Brother Tamanend, the Affable One," the title of perhaps the greatest Peacemaker in their history. In 1682 at Philadelphia, Tamanend joined hands with Quaker Governor William Penn beneath the Tree of Peace called the "Shackamaxon Elm" at the "Place Where Chiefs Are Made." In 1982 a delegation of Lenape leaders, including Chief Henry Secondine, Linda Poolaw and the late "Touching Leaves" Nora Thomson Dean, met with the Pennsylvanians to reestablish the peace for the Tricentenial of this early peace treaty.

In October of 1776, John Hancock sent a delegation of congressmen as Indian Commissioners to join George Morgan in negotiating the first American Indian Peace Treaty at Fort Pitt (present day Pittsburg). Lenape Grandfather Netawatwees, at the age of almost 100, insisted that the treaty convene outdoors beneath the Tree of Peace, a massive elm at the Forks of the Ohio. They joined the Shawnee, Wyandot, Ottawa and Six Nations in the "Friendship Song" and the "Dance of Peace" which symbolized the Covenant Chain of Friendship.

The peace talks around the council fire continued from October 15 to November 6, 1776. To preserve the peace, a joint system of justice was proposed where both Indians and Americans would be represented. The Senecas, "Keepers of the Western Door," agreed to supervise a peacekeeping force in the Ohio River Valley. The Shawnee Clan Mother Coitcheleh expressed concerns for the safety of the children. Shawnee Chief Cornstalk eloquently voiced the call for justice regarding political sovereignty, religious freedom and land rights:

> When God created this World he gave this island to the red people and placed your younger Brethren the Shawnees here in the Center — Now we and they see your people seated on our Lands which all Nations esteem as their and our heart — all our Lands are covered by the white people and we are jealous that you still intend to make larger strides. We never sold you our Kentucky Lands which you now possess on the Ohio between the great Kenhawa and the Cherokee (Tennessee) River...This is what sits heavy (on our) hearts & on the hearts of all Nations...Now I stretch my Arm to you my (Brothers) of the United States.[30]

The Kentucky lands were part of a 25,000,000 acre "International Indian Hunting Preserve" shared equally by the Shawnee, Lenni Lenape, Iroquois, Wyandots, Miami, Cherokee and other Indian nations.

The United States Commissioners, led by Doctor Thomas Walker, Colonel John Montgomery, John Harvie and Jasper Yeates, presented each Indian nation with a belt of wampum and promised on October 29th:

> We by this Belt give you the most solemn assurance that while the Red People continue to hold fast the old Chain of Friendship with the white people, their Lands shall not be touched or intruded on, but they & their Children shall enjoy the same unmolested, while the Sun shines, or the Rivers run.[31]

This was the beginning of a "Trail of Broken Treaties."

The commissioners also promised each nation that the United States would never draft Indian men:

> ...we know that you are well acquainted with fighting in the Woods & can undergo like men every hardship & difficulty when you go to War; but we would not deceive you, we would not ask you to fight our Battles, wherein you may loose many of your young men; we think we are able to meet our enemies in the Fields & Woods without involving our Indian Allies in a War...[32]

However, today young Indian men have been receiving notices to register for the draft in violation of this first American Indian Treaty. Many vows were made beneath the Tree of Peace. Perhaps the time has come to dust off the original Promises and to listen to the message of the American Indian Peace Movement.

When I spoke before the United Nations I made two proposals: first, may the traditional elders — these wise people of peace — speak directly before the United Nations; and second, may the UN call for all people of peace on earth to begin planting Trees of Peace. Both proposals were applauded. These ideas were shared by many people for both environmental and humanitarian reasons. 100 nations and 100 world organizations have now united to plant **one billion trees** around the world. The "International Tree Project" has been adopted as part of the UN's "International Year of Youth" for 1985. Trees of Peace will continue to be planted through 1986 to symbolize the world-wide cease fire proclaimed for "International Year of Peace."

Mohawk Chief Jake Swamp has been one of the most dedicated ambassadors, travelling from coast to coast to help explain the principles of the Great Law of Peace at Tree of Peace plantings. He and his wife, Judy, recently met with Dr. Robert Muller and his wife, Margarita, at the United Nations. They spoke with hope that the dream of the Peacemaker — a world without war — may one day come true.

Everyone is invited to join us in planting Trees of Peace to breath life into the body of Mother Earth. Start planning to plant Trees of Peace in your community. If you would like to help in this global effort, please feel free to write:

Chief Jake Swamp
Mohawk Nation
via 188C Cook Rd.
Hogansburg, NY 13655

Dr. Gregory Schaaf
511 Ixoria Ave.
Fort Pierce, FL 33482

Tax-deductible donations to help plant Trees of Peace may be sent to:
Viola Whitewater Foundation
c/o Jimmy Little Turtle
4225 Concord St.
Harrisburg, PA 17109
(717) 774-7212

FOOTNOTES

1. The *Papers of George Morgan* (hereafter cited *Morgan Papers*) were passed down for generations through the Morgan family and were discovered by the author in 1976 at a meeting with Ms. Susannah Morgan of Santa Barbara, Ca. A doctoral dissertation was written by the author under the supervision of Dr. Wilbur R. Jacobs, Professor of History at the University of California in Santa Barbara. An historical narrative soon will be published under the title, *The Morgan Papers: The American Indian Peace Movement during the Outbreak of the Revolutionary War*. The present article is based on the research for this book and a second manuscript in process entitled, *The Tree of Peace: A Universal Tradition*.
2. A vast literature exists on creation stories and the development of international law. For an Iroquois account see, Mohawk Nation, *The Great Law of Peace of the People of the Longhouse* (White Roots of Peace, Mohawk Nation, via Rooseveltown, N.Y.), illustrated by John Fadden (Kahonhes).
3. David Monongye, Hopi Independent Nation, personal interview (Third Mesa, Az., June, 1982).
4. *ibid.* Information on the *Wallam Olum* was provided by the late Lenape Grandmother Winnie Poolaw. A new translation of the text is being refined by David McCutchen, a fine linguist and artist from Sagus, California.
5. *ibid.*
6. Translation explained by Thomas Banyacya, Jr., Hopi Independent Nation (Spring, 1985).
7. Grandfather Victor "Sky Eagle" Lopez, Chumash Nation, personal interview, (Montecito, Ca., October, 1983).
8. The Chumash symbol may be found at Painted Cave Road off San Marcos Pass near Santa Barbara California. The Hopi Symbol may be found on the rock ledges around Third Mesa.
9. *The Great Law of Peace*, Law 20.
10. For an explanation of the significance of the Tree of Peace see, Mohawk Nation, *A Basic Call to Consciousness* Akwesasne, New York, 1977) and Paul A.W. Wallace, *White Roots of Peace* (—Philadelphia, 1946), a new edition soon will be released by Chanacy Press.
11. Dr. Robert Muller, "A Vision of Peace," foreword in a book soon to be published, Gregory Schaaf, *The Morgan Papers*.
12. *ibid.*
13. Nathalie Novik, "Trees of the Celts," article to be included in an upcoming book *The Tree of Peace* by Gregory Schaaf.
14. "Tree of Peace Planting Ceremony," *Transcript* (Crane School, Montecito, CA., January 14, 1985), Tape 1, Side A.
15. John Neihardt, ed., *Black Elk Speaks* (New York, 1975)
16. Jake Swamp to Gregory Schaaf, personal correspondence (Mohawk Nation, April, 1984).
17. This interpretation of the structure of the Six Nations was explained to the author by Lee Lyons, Onondaga historian.
18. John Hancock to George Morgan (Philadelphia, April 19, 1776) *Morgan Papers*, doc. #2, p. 1.
19. United Colonies to the Six Nations, (Pittsburg, May 19, 1776), *Morgan's Journal*, p. 13.
20. *ibid.* The meaning of the "Covenant Chain of Friendship was explained to the author by Leon Shenandoah and Oren Lyons, chiefs of the Onondaga Nation.
21. *ibid.*
22. *ibid.*
23. *ibid.*
24. *ibid.*
25. *ibid.*
26. *ibid.*, pp. 13-14. The role of the chieftaincy in Iroquois society was explained to the author by Chief Leon Shenandoah, Chief Oren and Lee Lyons from Onondaga and Chief Jake Swamp from the Mohawk Nation.
27. *ibid*, p. 14.
28. *ibid.*
29. John Hancock to Iroquois Ambassadors (Philadelphia, June 11, 1776), National Archives, M 247, r 37, i 30, pp. 350-51.
30. Cornstalk to the United States (Fort Pitta, November 7, 1776), *Morgan Journal*, p. 73.
31. U.S. Commissioners to the Western Indian Nations (Fort Pitt, October 29, 1776), *Transcript of the Treaty Proceedings*, Jasper Yeaters Collection, Historical Society of Pennsylvania, accepted by the Indian Claims Commission, Docket No. 13E et. al., exhibit A-193, p. 20.
32. *ibid.*, p. 19.

Mohawk Position Paper to Canadian Government

Akwesasne, Kahnawake & Tyendinage

Our Position

For 100 years Ottawa has had the Indian Act forced on Indian People in Canada. For the Mohawks, this act has brought strife and disunity to our communities. It is very important that today the Mohawk leaders of our communities join in a united voice that their accountability from this day forward is to be the people of their nation.

The position paper in this document addresses that concept. It speaks of Mohawks being citizens of their nation while establishing a parallel coexistence with Canada, recognition and preservation of our aboriginal rights, safe guarding our lands from erosion, keeping our traditions and culture, language and history. It also addresses the issues that are so important today: Membership, education, social services, economic development and judicial system.

We present this document as equals with all peoples on this land and other governments that occupy this land with us.

Introduction

The First Ministers' Conference on Constitutional matters held in Ottawa in March 1983, marked an important step toward the recognition of Indian First Nations in the Canadian Constitution. As former Prime Minister Trudeau observed in his opening statement:

> "Clearly out aboriginal peoples each occupied a special place in history. To my way of thinking, this entitles them to special recognition in the Constitution and to their own place in Canadian society, distinct from each other and distinct from other groups who together with them comprise the Canadian citizentry."

Further in 1974, at the time, the Commissioner of Indian Claims, Dr. Lloyd Barber said..."Native people are seriously talking about a distinctly different place within Canadian society, an opportunity for greater self-determination and a fair share of resources based on their original rights. No doubt this will require new and special forms of institutions which will need to be recognized as part of our political framework."

We wish to state plainly for the record and for historical purpose that we are first and foremost citizens of the Mohawk Nation.

As Mohawk people with a culture and territory which preceeded any borders, we have historically resisted being labelled as either Canadian or U.S. Indians because we firmly believe that such labels further erodes our sovereign and aboriginal rights and diminishes our pride and self-respect as a distinct and unique people.

We are not looking for "separation" but for autonomy within our Mohawk Nation and Territory. We do not object to the notion of dual citizenship which Canada recognizes for other nationals, but only if it is of our own free will and consent and if we are satisfied that our inherent and aboriginal nationhood is secure.

"All peoples have the right of self-determination. By virture of that right they freely determine their political status and freely pursue their economic, social and cultural development."

INDIAN GOVERNMENT

Presently, we are operating as a Council under the Indian Act because it is the only body of leadership that Canada recognizes at this time. As an elected Council we do not jump to the tune of the Department of Indian and Northern Affairs. On the contrary, we see ourselves as a protective barrier between the Federal/Provincial Governments and our people. As a Council, we are aware of the inherent contradiction of the Indian Act. It both protects and smothers us. We have reason to be cautious in disregarding the Indian Act too quickly.

We have been in a transitional period for some time, we have re-established contact with the Traditional Chiefs of the Iroquois Confederacy. We are re-educating our people and ourselves to our traditional form of law.

The Iroquois Confederacy has long had a form of government that proved functional, efficient and strong enough for many other constitutional forums to model themselves after. This Confederacy had devised a system that was truly an Indian government because it was in full operation pre-European contact. It was highly developed past simple agrarian concepts and anthropologists have compared this form of government to that of the much celebrated Incas and Aztecs. This government worked because it considered the social, economic, cultural, spiritual and policital needs of the Iroquoian people that were governed by this Confederacy.

The Iroquois Confederacy has as its constitution of Kaianerekowa or Great Law of Peace. It is referred to in many historic documents by the early colonizers. Benjamin Franklin freely admitted to using it as a basis for the American Constitution.

We have no qualms about adopting it to the present needs of our people as an internal constitution while keeping its original purpose as the governing document between the original five nations.

Adoption of the Kaianerekowa at the village level would resolve many of the problems created by Canadian legislation.

Some of the provisions are:

—checks and balances against the abuse of power;
—equal but definitive powers of men and women;
—recognition of women as the bearers of hereditary lineage;
—adoption procedures for those of a foreign nation;
—rights and duties of the people;
—rights, qualifications and duties of statements;
—procedures for reaching decisions;
—procedures for impeachment;
—accountability to the sovereign will of the people;

CHARTER OF RIGHTS

We maintain the Canadian Charter of Rights should not take precedence over Indian government in matters on territorial land.

Since the people in our territory will be the sovereign power, the question of equality will resolve itself at their fair and just will.

Historically, the Iroquoian people have been supportive of sexual equality, perhaps more so than any other government today.

The community level is the primary political unit because the people are the sovereign. It would be necessary only that Canada in law recognize our right to self-government. We cannot risk further loss of rights by leaving a void in the dominant legal structure. We have too often found a right has been superseded or abrogated because the Canadian government has neglected to specifically mention Indian rights in its laws.

WE ARE NOT ONLY ASKING AND DO NOT WANT THE GOVERNMENT TO 'GIVE' US ANY RIGHTS, ONLY TO RECOGNIZE IN LAW THAT WE HAVE THEM.

There appears to be some doubt that the presently ambiguous working of the Constitution will do that. We are looking for confirmatory legislation rather than statuatory or even enabling legislation.

Under traditional government we would not require sanction by the Department of Indian Affairs Minister. We would be sanctioned by our own people and accountable to them.

The powers of the Minister would have no effect upon the people of the Mohawk Nation. If the Department were to remain functional it should be as an ombudsman or central agency to facilitate the relationship between Federal/Indian government for those nations who are small, remote and non-assertive. For the Mohawk Nation we prefer to deal on a government-to-government level.

What we recommend is the "government-to-government" concept that the U.S. Supreme Court recognized for our brothers below the U.S./Canada border. The law there which evolved its Indian policy from exactly the same historic roots as Britian and Canada comes to quite different conclusions regarding aboriginal right to self government and land claims.

Indians in the U.S. retain all rights save those which they have freely consented to give up, a principle which is well established in international law and with which we concur. Indians in Canada, however, are perceived to have no rights save those which Parliament gives them.

The U.S. is no less guilty than Canada, however, in its unjust treatment of Indians. While it recognizes in law native rights, it often drags its feet in enforcing or implementing the law. "Benign neglect" was the term used to describe the U.S. attitude towards the Indians in the recent past.

As we re-strengthen and re-affirm our traditional ways, the people of the Confederacy Nations will work out the question of the Condoled Chiefs and the necessity of Pine Tree Chiefs. We are prepared to work with a living government structure based on the needs for our people and the preservation of generations to come. We do not see Iroquois Constitution as atropheid or frozen in time. Our people will breathe more life into it.

Relationships with other Indian governments or organizations and relationships with Provincial governments will be the responsibility of the Chiefs or spokesmen acting in accordance with the collective will of its Indian constituancy.

This concept of provincial jursidiction is in direct conflict with federal/Indian government relationship that we are asking to re-establish.

We will develop our own laws in matters which are presently given over to provinces. As assurance our internal autonomy is guaranteed, we will proceed at our own pace to implement Indian customs and law to replace our non-Indian legislation.

GUIDELINES FOR RELATIONS BETWEEN CO-EXISTENCE OF MOHAWK PEOPLES AND CANADIAN GOVERNMENT

In looking for a framework to guide relations between the Canadian Government and Indian nations, a suitable model can be found in the principles of the Two Row Wampum and the Silver Chain Covenant. These concepts have historical roots. Wampum was traditionally used for official purposes, one of which was to record agreements between Nations. The Two Row Wampum Belt was introduced with the first European contact in the 1600's. It records the understanding that Indian and European people would live together in peace, friendship and respect, but would be separate in their laws, customs and ways. Neither would make laws or interfere with internal affairs of the other. The principle envisages parallel, equal and separate governing systems.

The Silver Chain Covenant also originiated in the 1600's and represented the relationship between the Indian Nations and the Europeans. This relationship was to be "pure, strong and untarnished" as the silver of the chain. The tradition behind the Silver Chain is important as it recognizes a need for continuous attention to "polish" the chain and keep it in a "healthy" condition.

This symbolized the need for continuing meetings between Indian Nations and other governments to maintain the health of their relationship and to deal with current issues.

These principles provide a sound basis for understanding the relationship with the Canadian government as they have origins in Mohawk history. Further, the principles of separate and parallel governments get away from the unsuitable delegated authority model of the Indian Act. Such approach removes the inferior status of Band Council government and allows Indian Nations to deal with the Canadian government on a government-to-government basis. Equally important is the concept of future meetings and negotiations between governments to "keep the silver chain polished". This will allow for a process of negotiations on a regular basis without time deadlines to work out specific details of their interaction.

CO-EXISTANCE WITH FEDERAL AND PROVINCIAL GOVERNMENTS

In matters presently under the federal government (sec. 91-24) we will negotiate directly with the federal government in a bi-lateral or Two Row Wampum concept. The Indian Act for us must be phased out as soon as our own laws are in place and recognized, to fill in the legal vacumn and to prevent provincial laws from being applied.

In matters presently under provincial jurisdiction, we are determined to remove any laws of general application such as sec. 88 of the Indian Act and other provincial laws (such as Ontario Bill - 77 relating to Child Welfare) which are applied to our territories in the absence of Mohawk laws.

The concept of provincial jurisdiction is in direct conflict with federal/Indian relationships that we are seeking to re-establsih. We will develop our own laws in matters which are presently given over to the provinces.

In modern society there will have to be some agreements between Indian Government and Canadian governments dealing with financial matters, international relations, social issues, etc., and these can be resolved as the need arises in future, always respecting principles of the Two Row Wampum Belt. It should be noted that this principle allows for the flexibility needed in such constitutional positions being expressed by leading Indian advocates about the need for entrenchment of principles of Aboriginal self-government in the Canadian Constitution. Details for individual Indian Nations are to be resolved by negotiation and agreement. For all these reasons, these concepts provide a suitable framework for relations between the Mohawk Nation and Canadian Government.

The process towards self-government will take time. During such process, leaders should exercise their legislative powers. This will have positive effects in three ways. First, it will give the elected leaders experience in dealing with law making, both in the technical sense and in the process (an experience necessary in the future, to act in a self-governing situation). Second, it provides opportunities for elected leaders to have regular communications with their constituents on arising issues. In western models of political democracies, this is the type of relationships which should exist. Notably, in the Haudenonsaunee Confederacy, a fundamental principle establishes leaders as servants of the people, and teaches that it is with the people that authority lies. The leaders are to carry out the will of the people, rather than directing what the people want. This relationship of communication between the leaders and the people should thus be acceptable in the community as a whole. Third, by existing Councils passing by-laws, the community will be accustomed to the leaders deciding policies (albeit with community participation). The leaders will be governing, not merely dealing with administration of programs or public works. All of these effects have a positive influence in the process of self-government.

Another step which should be taken immediately relates to the administration of the Council offices. It is important that Councils exercise its legislative function. The leaders, however, must also ensure the carrying out of their policies in a fair and efficient and financially responsible manner. The community must have confidence in the administrative functioning of the Council office. This is important as well, for developing skills required to deal with the increased bureaucratic responsibilities that self-government will necessarily bring. Further, in negotiating financial arrangements with the Canadian government in future, (i.e. resource monies), it must be shown that the office is capable of administering the large sums of money which is involved.

Self-government will expand the current recognition of powers by Canada of the political and legal rights of Indian people. There are several jurisdictional areas of crucial importance which must be within the scope of future Indian Government. While not a comprehensive list, the following subjects will be considered — land and resources — financial relations — membership — citizenship — education — social services — international relations and the Jay Treaty — judicial system.

LAND

Questions of jurisdiction must begin with lands. The existing system under the Indian Act is not satifactory as it gives too much authority to the Minister of Indian Affairs over lands. The maintenance by the Department of a land register of possession is always out of date and imposes restrictions which the Indian community does not have to accept.

The present system is based on a colonial mentality and is inconsistent with sovereignty of Indian Nations. The Indian Act is not effective for modern Indian Governments to seek economic development of lands and resources, as it is too restrictive. The details of lands and resource management will have to be developed over time by leaders of the Mohawk communities, but the bottom line must be that control will lie with the Indian Governmment control of lands will give the Indian government ability to strictly protect the environment. There are also powers with the Councils to pass land use zoning by-laws. It should legislate to the full extent of its powers, however, that alone will not provide a long term answer. Future Indian governments must have expanded authority to deal with protection of the environment and natural resources. This is particularly so of the Mohawk Nation whose communities are located on a river and have extensive wildlife habitats (i.e. duck marshes). The people are actively involved in fishing, hunting and agriculture and these pursuits, for economic or recreational purposes must be protected.

Mohawk tradition supports these goals. It describes the connection between man and the earth as a spiritual relationship. It reaches sharing the earth and its resources with the natural world of plants and animals. Many ceremonies give thanks to the Creator for the Earth's produce. Together with this goes the near-sacred responsibility to protect the environment from harm or destruction. Because of these beliefs, it is obvious that in Iroquoian tradition, there is no room for non-Indian governments to have any role in the management or control of Indian resources.

ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT AND CREATION OF AN INDIAN ECONOMIC INDENTITY

The Indian Act and other Canadian laws restrict, hampers and prevents the Mohawk Nation from developing and preserving the resources necessary to develop an economic base which would contribute to self-respect and self-sufficiency.

The primary economic base of Canada has been created on the sale and exploitation of both renewable and non-renewable natural resources of this country. The Mohawk people have not enjoyed the benefit of these talks to the same degree as the general Canadian public. The Mohawk Nation now wishes to take the initiative to develop the mechanisms and institutions that will support an economic infrastructure. We are prepared to be responsible and credible for our actions, but not as the price of giving up our unique identity as citizens of the Mohawk Nation. At present, business requirements or incorporation under the laws of Canada have generally been rejected by the Haudenosaunee. We are striving to create our own economic institutions that will be able to set the foundations for our own economic base.

Consistent with our overall political direction, we will be looking to the existing Canadian institutions and governments for reciprocation, recognition and support.

Self-determination for the Mohawk Nation means not only taking control of our own political future, but taking the steps necessary that our economic well-being is going to prosper. The authority of the Mohawk Nation will have to be exercised in this regard to ensure that our future business development(s) will understand the economics of the Mohawk Nation.

FINANCIAL AND TRUST RELATIONSHIP

The goal towards autonomous internal government for the Mohawk people does not mean the end of fiscal responsibility between the Federal/Indian Governments.

Your forefathers established a relationship with our Government which allowed you to share our land and live in parallel peace each with its own form of government. In return for the land, a trust responsibility has been incurred by the non-Indian Government (Two Row Wampum Treaty).

A result of this government-to-government relationship which involved the use of our land and our resources had created a trust responsibility for the Indian Government which is confirmed in the Two Row Wampum, the Covenant and the British North America (BNA) Act.

Indian trust monies are not taxes, but a share of our own natural resources. There is a misconception planted among the public and even believed by some parliamentarians that we are a tax payers burden. Rather, Canada's wealth is based on native lands and resources.

As was forcefully stated in the Report of the Committee on Indian Self-Government in Canada, the present system of funding arrangements is unsatisfactory in almost all ways. The Penner Report details these inadequacies and makes positive recommendations which have been given serious consideration by the Mohawk leaders.

Two sources exist for funding: direct financing from the Canadian government and money generated by Mohawk communities. Funding should not be considered a benefit given at the government's will. It should be in the form of transfer payments similar to present fiscal arrangements between federal and provincial government. These payments can be seen as a sharing of Indian Nation's resources with Canada. This relationship allows Indian Nations to deal with the Canadian government on a true bilateral or government-to-government basis. It would remove the outdated idea of money, like legislative authority, being "delegated" by the Canadian Parliament to Indian Governments.

To have real self-governing authority, Indian Government must have power to determine priorities of spending resource monies. The Canadian government will always raise this issue in negotiations and the Mohawk leadership have taken steps to ensure proper fiscal control.

EDUCATION

At present, responsibility for education of Indians lies within the Minister's jurisdiction by S. 114-123 of the Indian Act. These extensive powers allow him to set standards for teaching, subjects for the curriculum, discipline, etc. While the Mohawk communities has in practice a large role, education still falls under the Minster's authority. This situation must be changed with the coming of self-government to provide for Indian control of the education process.

History shows that education is a major factor in developing independence by indigenous people. The future lies with the young people, therefore, Indian governments controlling the process of their education is essential. The education system must be designed and managed to as great an extent as possible by Indians. This will guarantee adequate attention of teaching Mohawk language and culture, in addition to traditional subjects. Protection of cultural identity depends on the young learning the language and history of their people. Control also ensures that the "way" education is presented will be appropriate to the community needs. Methods of teaching and demands on students may be different than those used in non-Indian schools. For example, a less competitive system may better suit the needs of Indian children. The education requirements can best be met by Indian teachers in the community who are committed to the future of the Mohawk Nation.

Indian governments must have the power to decide the amount of money devoted to schools. It makes no sense that an outside government makes this decision for Indian people. There must be formal transfer of authority over education to Indian governments. The community has a large role to play in decisions on education. To demonstrate as an example of our commitment to education within the existing limitations, Kahnawake has successfully developed a high school complex which involves curriculum, administration and education policy which is in keeping with traditional values and concepts. The existing volunteer education committees can be used to promote community participation in management and planning for the schools. Indian control does not prevent the use of non-Indian experts to give advice, and their assistance should be encouraged when the need arises. Indian control simply assumes that decisions will be made by leaders directly responsible to the community.

SOCIAL SERVICES

We are prepared to provide comprehensive social services on our reserves to negotiate agreements and contracts with other agencies where we do not have facilities and to provide services for our citizens who are not in our communities. At present, many members of the community receive assistance (welfare, disability pensions, old age pensions, mothers allowance, etc.). Confusion often arises when people are required to deal with several different governments and departments. In the Canadian system, some services are provided by the provinces, others by federal sources. A practical situation would be for Indian governments to administer benefits for all residents. Indian Affairs has agreed to turn over the administration, but in areas of statutory services, access to institutional resources and adoptions, the province is reluctant to turn over total control. We are not satified to administer only limited areas. Agreements can be made with non-Indian governments to do this, provided adequate resources are supplied through transfer payments. The direction we wish our social services to take is in line with traditional values.

JUDICIAL SYSTEM

The extent to which provincial and federal law should apply to our territories requires specific attention.

Kahnawake and Akwesasne are among the very few Indian territories in Canada which have their own court system with a Mohawk Judge empowered to hear offenses against the Indian Act, our by-laws, community practices and some sections of the Criminal Code. We have prosecuting and defense attorneys who are non-Indian and we enjoy a good working relationship with the neighboring cities.

We can do a better job where our people and territory are concerned than a system which has no Indian components. What we see as the major flaw is that our court system is sanctioned under the Indian Act instead of our aboriginal right. We cannot expand ourselves or exercise our full powers and human resources under the current restrictions imposed by Canada's laws and regulations. This is unsatisfactory to us.

It is the will of our people that we regain and retain full and autonomous jurisdiction within our own territory. We intend to expand our jurisdiction to hear what is termed civil cases, such as disputes between two Indian and also family legal problems. We would want such issues resolved in a more traditional manner than is possible under the adversarial system. Not necessarily in a formal court of law.

Related to this judicial system is our system of keeping the peace within our territory. Today our communities have a large population. In the past, it was the custom of our people to have villages of no more than 500. The family and clans were sufficient to ensure peace and good order. When a village exceeded that number, a group of extended families or clans would voluntarily establish another village elsewhere. Our traditional land base has always allowed that when an area was depleted of firewood or immediate game, and to give the earth a rest from the planting, we were able to move our villages every twenty years or so.

This is no longer possible. The non-Indians and their governments have hemmed us into small corners. Our traditional economic self-sufficiency has been depleted along with our land base. Our population has swelled which demands a change in our peacekeeping methods. Therefore, our communities have established Peacekeepers or Peace Officers to replace the role once held by our elders, chiefs and clan mothers.

Because of this, we are forevermore in our permanent small territory. Our population has swelled and with it a change is necessary in our peacekeeping methods. In a small village the elders, the chiefs, the clan mothers and all families could monitor and sanction behavior. Our size prevents us now from that method. Instead we have established the Peacekeepers of Kahnawake and the Akwesasne Police Force.

In a self-governing situation, it is important that the community not only see laws being passed but a fair, well-trained and efficient police force ensuring compliance with these laws. There is no value in having a "toy" police force as the people will lose respect both for the police and the Indian government. The police force must thus have proper training in law enforcement and defined guidelines and accountability for their conduct.

A judicial system designed and operated by Indians for their community has the respect of residents and national and international governments. This system would be an important element of a strong Indian government.

MEMBERSHIP/CITIZENSHIP

You have heard many times already that the Iroquois culture reckoned their nations citizens through the matrilineal line.

The Canadian government has documented testimony in 1897 and 1948 and times in between from the Iroquois that the Indian Act should not dictate to them who shall be called members of their tribe or nation.

Had we been left without any interference in our internal affairs there would not today be the confused, tangled mess which the non-Indian government has created. There would be no fighting and bitterness between brothers and sisters, men and women.

We again emphasize that we will not accept any proposals that do not originate from the sovereign will of our people.

OFF—RESERVE STATUS INDIANS

We are Indian no matter where we are. Our territory provides for off-reserve Indians to participate in the governing body and to maintain their permanent residential status. In a sense there are no off-reserve Indians.

We recognize that an Indian retains his/her rights even though compelled to seek employment and other economic/education opportunities off-reserve.

We maintain a tradition of returning to the territory between jobs and retirement. We are among the few territories which have a return rate of people equal to the outflow. It is one of our strengths. We shall continue to welcome back our people. In a sense no one leaves the Mohawk territory permanently.

Again, we advise you to examine the U.S. system of providing off-reserve Indians with assistance in affirmative action and health and educational programs provided by the federal and/or state governments.

INTERNATIONAL LAW AND BORDER RIGHTS

The Iroquois Territories extends from the Quebec City area to as far south as the Carolinas, from Vermont to Delaware and Ontario.

When the U.S. revolted against British rule and won, the border which was established cut across our aboriginal territory and separated our villages. The Treaty of Amity, Commerce and Navigation, commonly known as the Jay Treaty was signed by the U.S. and Britain. Because the Iroquois interests were still recognized, a stipulation was added which was to ensure that we were to have free access to either country without restriction, as well as any personal property. We were exempt from duty, excise and sales tax. The U.S. courts, in the Paul Diabo case, 1929, forced that government to honor the section of the treaty which relates to the Indian himself.

Canada on the other hand has refused to even acknowledge that case and claims that since Parliament has never ratified that treaty they are not obliged to

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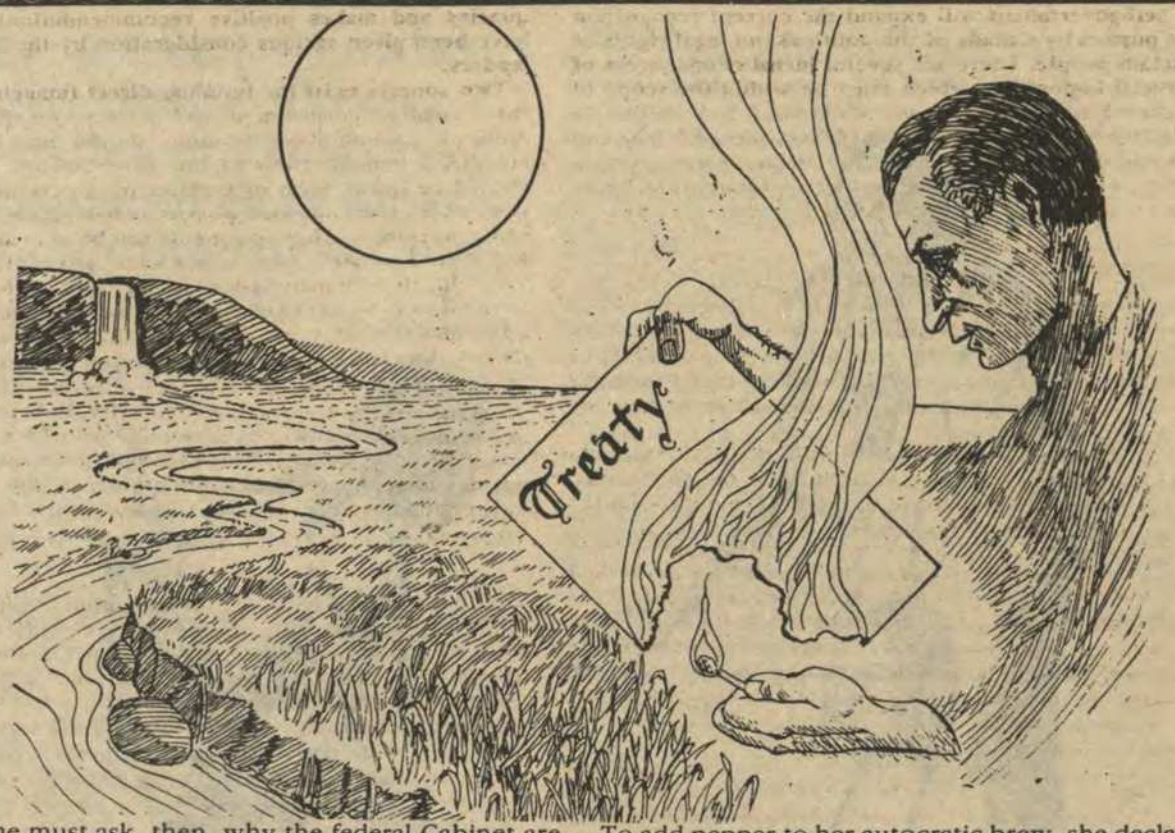
The Canadian Leak: Memo To Drastically Cut Native Program Funding



By Dave Todd, Southam News

OTTAWA — Richard Price, a federal civil servant, has been fired and faces criminal charges for allegedly leaking a cabinet document that embarrassed the Mulroney government.

The cabinet paper, initially passed on by the former Edmontonain to Vancouver religion professor Terry Anderson, eventually ended up in the hands of the New Democratic Party.

The document, entitled Memorandum To Cabinet: Report Of the Task Force On Native Programs, first surfaced May 8 in the commons, where NDP Leader Ed Broadbent revealed the government was considering a $312-million reduction in public spending on native housing, education and health care between 1986 and 1988.

The public furore that followed led Prime Minister Brian Mulroney to order an RCMP investigation. This has resulted, two months later, in a breach of public trust complaint being lodged against Price, who served until Tuesday as director of policy and program consultation in the federal Indian and Inuit affairs directorate of the Indian Affairs Department.

Breach of Trust Charges - Richard T. Price

The Indian Association of Alberta has been monitoring with great interest the national media coverage given to the Government of Canada's breach of trust charged against Richard T. Price. It is our understanding that this is the first occasion in Canadian history that a public servant has been served with a criminal charge for an offense of this kind. It is ironic to us that this unprecendented action would be taken against a person who clearly takes the trustee responsibility of Canada serious. If the Canadian public are going to understand the reasons for incidents such as this one taking place, it is necessary for the readers of newspapers to have some appreciation of the historical events that precede crisis situations. At stake here are not just Treaty Rights, but the democratic rights of all Canadians who believe that the newly adopted freedoms in the Charter of Rights should be upheld and respected.

signed
Wilf McDougall, President
Indian Association of Alberta

The "PRICE" of Indian Justice

While the Canadian Minister of External Affairs was in Helsinki making veiled complaints about the abuse of human rights in "other nations," his government persecuted Richard T. Price, who allegedly committed a breach of trust by leaking Neilsen Task Force information to the public. The Indian Association of Alberta takes the position that on "moral principles" alone, Price was justified in his action. We are saying that on September 16th, it will be the Government of Canada that goes on trial, **not** Richard Price.

Price, just like the Indian leaders in Canada, is deeply aware of the oppression that is meted out by Canadian society and its government: for example, the pathetic fact that prisons and gaols are filled with Indian men and women all out of proportion to numbers in the total population. And the latter situation stems from alcohol abuse which is directly derived from the economic deprivation Indian nations have known, especially during the past century.

The accused, who has been a senior policy officer in the Department of Indian Affairs, was well aware of the political oppression that present and past federal governments have imposed on Indians. Ironically, the latest such arrogant and insensitive expression has been in the renewal of the Canadian constitution process itself. Indian leaders, while being involved in the formulating of amendments process, have had **no** vote and **no** veto power on substantive issues profoundly affecting their lives.

One must ask, then, why the federal Cabinet are so indignant and so fumingly angry over Price's alleged devious deed? It was not simply because the general public would have been aware of the federal government's possible cut-backs in Indian budgets. The real reason was that the leaked consultants' report exposed for all to see, the government's master blueprint and strategy to dispose of Indian rights and the conflicts that so often arise from the latter. Regardless of the Prime Minister's saying that the recommendations were not policy, the reality is that Crombie's own officals had major influence in framing those conclusions.

It would seem that in Price's judgement, the federal government took its trusteeship responsibility for Indians very lightly, and played out that role unscrupulously. He was in the dilemma where he felt that the trust of the Indians had to be built on integrity, but his government vacillated in that respect. When Price was an employee of the Indian Association of Alberta, he demonstrated his belief that Indian treaties are credible and deserved respect; he was committed to an attitude that the right of self-determination of Indian Nations, as enunciated by the United Nations, was legitimate; his view was that consultation with Indian leaders meant meaningful dialogue with a desire to listen to Indians' aspirations. The Neilsen Report recommendations were based on "expert opinion," not real consultation. And some of those proposals reflected sinister ploys that had been shot down by Indians in the past.

Price, with his knowledge of nineteenth century British colonial history, saw in the Neilsen Report a resurfacing of the "white man's burden" syndrome. The report, so destructive to Indians' survival interests, intimated that Indians in this country are getting too many benefits, and society could no longer tolerate that. The I.A.A. says that there would be no Canadian economy at all, except for the generous contributions made by the Indian Nations, and comparatively little has been returned to Indians in kind. The motives of Canadian society and private industry have stayed the same: "Suppress the Indians and garner their natural resources."

Price, like the I.A.A., became familiar with the historical betrayal trails erringly followed by the Government of Canada. Their hidden agenda has been to pass responsibility for Indians to the various provinces through carefully calculated legal and administrative devices. For Indian Nations, this has meant reduced internal political jurisdiction and shredding of treaty obligations. It has meant putting remaining Indian landholdings in jeopardy.

The Neilsen Report recommendations embodies troublesome tactics of the past; pushing for federal-provincial master service agreements in education, health and social services - strategies of the 1960's. The dismal Indian Act consultations of 1968-69 which culminated in the infamous "termination of Indian rights and status" White Paper on Indian Policy (1969) were rehashed in the leaked document. In 1978 the Dept. of Indian Affairs went through a "soul-searching" process, coming up with a significant "consultation with righteousness" discussion paper. But hot on the heels of it came Monique Begin's 1978-79 policy to make Indians pay uninsured health care benefits. To add pepper to her autocratic brew, she declared that "total health care was not a treaty right."

Richard Price is well aware that the Constitutional Conferences on Aboriginal Rights held in Ottawa in 1983, 84 and 85 have been abject failures. The section 37 (2) provisions for federal-provincial-Indian consultation were imposed on the Indian Nations over their protests, and history has proven the Indians to be right; the system is unworkable. Parliament was intent on "lumping together" all aboriginal peoples in a single pot so that, ultimately, their indentities would be totally ambiguous. Parliament's clumsiness achieved only one major success, that of hopelessly fractionating the Assembly of First Nations, probably a concomitant objective, anyway. The Neilsen Report also would perpetuate the "on reserve - off reserve Indian" dichotomy, thereby weakening treaty rights. For the past several years, Indian Affairs have refused to pay ancillary educational costs for children living temporarily off their reserves.

Price was undoubtedly aware of the grand design of Bill C-31 (amendments to the Indian Act - 1985), which had as its intent the providing of sexual equality to Indian women. No doubt, he saw the inherent anomalies in the legislation. On the one hand, David Crombie promising new financial resources to cover benefits to reinstated women and children; on the other, a federal task force contemplating severe budget cuts. The terms of Bill C-31 were imposed upon Indian chiefs and councils well in advance of the passing of new amendments. John Munro, ex-Minister, had effectively enticed and manipulated chiefs and councils through implementation of Section 4 of the Indian Act - not exactly an ethical practice! The I.A.A. sees ulterior motives in such political game playing, especially since white women in Canadian society are so conspicously deprived: so few in Parliament and provincial legislatures; so few in senior management positions in government and industry; so poorly paid in relation to males, even when performing the same work - ad infinitum.

It is doubted that Price concurred with the Neilsen Task Force recommendation that would have effectively curbed financial contributions to Indian organizations whom for the past fifteen years, in particular, have been the "conscience of Parliament." Since Price had worked several years in an Indian organization under Indian supervision, he knew that to be true. He knew that the federal government has been determined to promote Indians' assimilation at any cost and a keystone of that process is to crookedly abrogate the treaties. His perception has been that Indians' aspirations and governmental policy are on a collision course. At a given point in time he elected to stand with the Indian Nations rather than with a subversive government. He realized that not even the Supreme Court decisions, which swing like a political pendulum, could preserve the trust between Indians and quasi-colonial masters.

Yes, the Government of Canada will be on trial, and the going will be heavy!

Wilf McDougall,
President of the Indian Association of Alberta
August 6, 1985

ALBERTA: Treaty Indian Struggle to Retain their Traditional Hunting Rights

OUR PEOPLE RESPECT OUR ELDERS. WE VALUE THEIR WISDOM AND GUIDANCE. WE PROVIDE FOR THEM AS THEY PROVIDED FOR US, THEIR CHILDREN.

OUR GRANDPARENTS STRENGTHEN OUR NATION—WE HELP THEM REMAIN STRONG.

A new chapter in the unrelenting fight of Treaty Indians to keep aboriginal hunting rights has opened in the province. Three weeks ago a game warden confiscated forty-five wild animal hides from the Hudson's Bay Company at Grande Prairie. These moose hides, which had been purchased from Treaty Indians and Metis, were classed as contraband because the hunters and tanners had not bought the required $10.00 annual commercial permit that is required under the present Alberta Wildlife Act.

The leaders of the Indian Association of Alberta are greatly alarmed at this turn of events. Before final court decisions are made regarding alleged illegal hunting and fishing charges that were meted out on a wholesale basis during the past two years, the Alberta Fish and Wildlife Division has launched stage two of the assault. Under the present Wildlife Act all residents of Alberta, whether Indian, Metis or white, must buy the $10.00 permit; and much to the chagrin of Treaty Indians, the province is applying the law inside sovereign Indian reserves.

These episodes to Treaty Indians are much more than just controversy over wildlife law enforcement. At the crux of the whole problem is the validity and strength of the treaties, particularly Treaty 8 which encompasses the northern half of Alberta. The Treaty Commissioner's Report for Treaty 8, dated September 22, 1899, says: "We pointed out that the Government could not undertake to maintain Indians in idleness; that the same means of earning a livelihood would continue **after** the treaty as existed before it, and that the Indians would be expected to make use of them." Treaty Indian elders alive today are very conversant with that promise. There is a long precedent for Indians carrying on commerce with explorers and settlers, bartering wild meat, fish, furs and hides for white men's trading goods. Today, as in the past, Indian-owned hides are made into handicraft to sustain a low level cottage business.

There have always been some cynical, vocal critics in the dominant society who decry the legal rights and benefits that flow from the treaties. They irrationally attack those rights as part of a sharp pronged assimilation scheme. Then, when the sacred rights are denied as in the case at hand, those same critics are quick to condemn the former hunters and tanners for relying on social assistance. In this instance, it is mainly women, including many elderly ones who are supposed to curtail their traditional economic activity. There's more than meets the eye in regard to this licensing issue. Besides the legislative threat of imposed licensing fees, there is the growing competition that arises from ever-greater white hunting pressure. In the 1984-85 hunting season the number of general licenses for moose hunting was: resident - 53,963; non-resident - 169,000; and, non-resident alien, 566. These figures mean that 223,529 licenses were issued, almost all to white hunters. Based on an estimated kill of 15%, 33,529 moose were brought down. Consider that there are only 44,000 Treaty Indians in this province, and only a fraction are active hunters. The conclusion is self-evident.

Because the First Ministers' Conferences on Aboriginal Rights in the federal constitution have failed to clarify exactly the nature of long-standing hunting, fishing and trapping rights, a jurisdictional "jungle" remains as far as protection of these rights is concerned. Just the same, the Province of Alberta Fish and Wildlife Division are applying the terms of the Wildlife Act to Indian reserves. The legality of its application is up for question. Invariably, such imposition of unwanted laws ended up in a high court challenge.

Sometimes over-zealous, ambitious young game wardens cross over beyond the limits of the law itself. Take the case of a gentle, semi-literate female tanner and handicrafter who resides in the foothills region. Regardless of the status and aboriginal rights which she wanted to maintain, a game warden confiscated her hides without even laying a charge. A couple days later after a strong protest by the I.A.A., her hides were mysteriously returned - no questions asked.

Treaty Indian Chiefs and Councils argue stubbornly that they have jurisdiction over the national resources inside the reserves, but that is not all. They declare that there must be access to wildlife on Crown lands to ensure their survival. Section 25 of the Charter of Rights in Canada Act explicitly mentions these rights: "the guarantee in this Charter of certain rights and freedoms shall not be construed so as to abrogate or derogate from any aboriginal, treaty or other rights of freedoms that pertain to the aborignial peoples of Canada including (a) any rights or freedoms that have been recognized by the Royal Proclamation of October 7, 1763; and (b) any rights or freedoms that may be acquired by the aboriginal peoples of Canada by way of land claims settlement."

Recently Fish and Wildlife officials awkwardly liaised orally with officials of native friendship centres and fur buyers, informing them that teeth were being put into the present Wildlife Act, enforcing it on all sides. Fur buyers, especially, who have had a long commercial association with Indians, have stated their concern over economic losses to Indians who stand to be deprived of their traditional business pursuits. As the situation now stands, an Indian seller and a hide buyer are both culpable under the Wildlife Act. It is also an absurdity that an Indian woman who sells gloves, moccasins or jackkets made from a hide which was not covered by a permit, can be charged with an offense. The I.A.A. believes that this condition can severely stifle economic initiative and cultural preservation.

An official of the Fish and Wildlife Division has explicitly stated that an Indian who markets a hide or a hide-derived product can do so as long as he purchases the $10.00 annual permit. But, if the same Indian asserts his or her Treatry Right to harvest big game and sell the raw hide, it will not be tolerated by the enforcement agency.

Justice is hard to come by in Canadian society. For Treaty Indians - the first occupants of this continent, it is doubly difficult regardless of lofty consitutional rights.

For further information, contact Clifford Freeman, Treaty 8 Vice President, Indian Association of Alberta, Edmonton, telephone (403) 452-4330

WHITE EARTH LANDS: Anishinabe Akeeng Testifies at Congress, Racism and Fear Moves through the Farm Community

W. LaDuke '85

On September 11, 1985, a delegation from the White Earth Indian reservation testified at the Senate Select Committee on Indian Affairs. This year, S. 1396 (joined by a companion H.R. 2678) has once again been introduced by the Minnesota Congressional Delegation, and, as in the past, Anishinabe Akeeng-or "The People's Land", a coalition of heirs and allottees to the White Earth lands is back again, to fight the legislation. For the past three years, Anishinabe Akeeng and the Western people has defeated the bill. In each succeeding Congress, the "White Earth Land Settlement Bill" — as it is known, comes up in a slightly different form, literally "upping the ante, in a poker game of land and resources", and the rumor has it that this year-1985, is the last chance for this particular bill.

The proposed legislation will terminate Indian title to lands within the White Earth Indian reservation by "clearing title" for non-Indian property holders, who have found that they hold their land illegally. The bill, according to the "wording" would clear title — or TERMINATE INDIAN TITLE, to approximately 200,000 acres of land within the reservation. However, should the bill actually pass, the Indian people of White Earth face the impending disintegration of some 94% of the reservation, which is currently in non-Indian control. Finally, if this bill actually passes to *Retroactively* legalize the illegal transactions on this 94% of our land base that is now held by non-Indians, the reservation boundaries are likely to disappear entirely in the next few years. Finally, the worst blow yet- not only will happen to White Earth, but some 40 western reservations who have similar land title problems, are slated for similar legislation in the upcoming years.

In 1867, our treaty reserved a reservation for the Anishinabe people of Minnesota. But "Manifest Destiny" in the form of greedy timber interests took what nature had bestowed and law had protected for our people.

In 1887-1934, Indian people lost some 90 million acres or three-fourths of our reservations to illegal land transactions within the borders of our "as long as the grass is green" homelands. On White Earth, some four-fifths of the reservation was lost during this time period. By 1983, about 6% of our reservation is "owned" by Indian people, the remainder being held by non-Indian interests. To rectify this problem Congress passed a law to investigate internal reservation problems.

In 1978 a federal title investigation began at White Earth, and to date has unearthed approximately 200,000 acres of land (out of 800,000 acres of reservation) which has clear fraudulent title. The federal "2415 Land Claims" investigation has found that tax forfeiture, minor sales, and use of half-breed affidavits are the major mechanisms through which land was literally stolen from the Indian people of this reservation. Indian land held "in trust" is non-taxable; yet local counties, and the state of Minnesota levied taxes on the Indian people; and when the people had no money, confiscated the land for taxes.

These types of claims — "allotment" claims were discovered on 40 reservations. It is these claims that legislation would terminate.

> ***"It is the nature of the system to consume native lands. So long as we have lands, so long as we have resources, there will be someone who is ready to take them away- by any means. So it comes to pass that they would like to clear title to 94% of our reservation, and keep these stolen lands for themselves. Frankly we are not surprised. But, we have no intention of letting this happen..."***
>
> ***Anishinabe Akeeng statement- 85***

Who would want to steal the White Earth reservation? Who would want to not only "clear title", but further eliminate the entire reservation? All too often Indian tribes are faced with the dilemma the White Earth people are in today. And, there is, a recurring scene in many cases. It is not only the multinationals that push for reservation termination, more frequently than not, it is the local non-Indians who rally up an "anti-Indian hysteria"- that finally results in some destructive proposals, like the White Earth legislation. We are all familiar with their type- the guys in pick up trucks that sport a bumpersticker- "Save a Fish — Spear an Indian", or maybe their bumpersticker reads, "Equal Rights for Everyone". This, of course is the more subtle approach. Most reservations have at least a dozen of these individuals, and White Earth is no exception. The problem we have, is that these individuals are currently in the drivers seat on Federal Indian policy, and combined with some opportunist politicians are pushing the White Earth legislation. But, the fact is that, we underestimate their work, and we watch, many times, the growth and development of anti Indian hysteria, when maybe we need to deal with it.

For example, two White Earth based organizations- the White Earth Equal Rights Committee (an affiliate of the Interstate Congress on Equal Rights and Responsibilities) and the brother organization, "To tally Equal Americans", are busy organizing. They have a number of letters, and a letterwriting campaign, and they are working with a number of national organizations to push this legislation through. And, the chances are, that in the upcoming years, more and more people will join the ranks of these REACTIONARY organizations.

How do they gain in popularity, and how is this building in the White Earth area? America loves a martyr. And, at White Earth, the press has made the non-Indian farmer, not the Indian, the underdog-the martyr. In virtually every national article on the White Earth issues- a local farmer is up there pleading to have clear title, and in every single local paper, the non-Indian clearly has *popular* support.

A typical story is of a Mahnomen County Farmer, whose land was purchased from one of several land agents at the turn of the century, and finally passed down through the generations. The land agent, of course, usually got the land through questionable means- a minor sale, "purchased" for a bag of groceries, or other immoral transactions. The farmer, purchased the land "in good faith" from the land speculator. In turn, the farmer, under the bad advice of the Farmers Home Administration (FHA), and, maybe a local bank, mortgaged his land to expand his operation, purchase new lands, and more expensive equipment.

As the story goes, farm land began a spiraling devaluation, and the farmer was now in debt to several times the estimated current value of his farm. Through a combination of further depressed farm land prices, and increasing bad title, most of these famers have ended up with *no operating loans,* and *no collateral.* And, many local banks-like the Ogema State Bank on White Earth- are in just as bad of shape, with over one third of all bank mortgages on land that is now considered to have "clouded title".

Perhaps the best illustration of the farm crisis in the White Earth area is last years tractorcade by over 100 farmers to the local FHA office, where they demanded the resignation of the regional supervisor. And, more and more frequently farm forclosure auctions are met with rallies, and chants of "No Sale" that postpone, and hopefully, will stop entirely some of the foreclosures and forced auctions.

Somehow, local politicians are pushing a notion that "clearing title"- ie: terminating Indian title to the lands at White Earth, will help avert the farm crisis. The point is that "cleardaring title" so lands can be used as collateral for operating loans, and lands can be sold, will not solve the crisis of the northern Minnesota farmer. Nor will it guarantee a better and more stable price for oats, corn or milk. Unfortunately these farmers, pushed by circumstances and a variety of Minnesota politicians, and seedy anti- Indian characters such as "Indian fighting" Tom Tobin the attorney from South Dakota (a prime mover behind the Interstate Congress on Equal Rights and Responsibilities) are promoting this anti Indian line in the farm community. "Scapegoating" is common in reservation border towns, but the White Earth scapegoating will not solve the long term agricultural crisis, and in the meantime is one of the most dangerous battlefields in the taking of Indian lands.

Indian people need only think about the recent "divide and conquer" tactics of the federal government to see the potential damage this conflict could cause. Two prime examples are the recent "Salmonscam" and "Operation Eagle" initiatives of the federal government which were used to force a wedge between the Indian community and any support and alliances we have had with the environmental community. The White Earth land title issue, and basically "collateral" is being used to wedge a spike between the Indian and farmer, and it is, forcing this split most successfully.

Solutions

On the bright side, the White Earth people have some solutions to this problem, which were presented at the Senate hearings on September 11. Anishinabe Akeeng, the grassroots organization presented testimony covering three separate issues of concern to the White Earth community.

First, the organization pointed out, that No Settlement Should Be Proposed, without completing the investigation. In a number of affadavits from investigators of the White Earth 2415 claims, the organization pointed out that the investigation was far from complete, and, with the limitations of the scope of the investigation, it is unfair to force a settlement, that would terminate title, without knowing these scope of claims and damages.

Second, Anishinabe Akeeng pointed out that S. 1396 is a violation of constitutional rights to due process, and due compensaton. Throughout the investigation and the legislation process, the Indian people have not been informed of claims on their lands, of their legal rights, of any damages due them, or, indeed, even the status of any of their lands. In fact, the Bureau of Indian Affairs, has systematically attempted to deny Indian heirs access to information on their lands, when in many cases, the Indian heir had a good legal case for reclaiming those lands. Finally, as with most "claims" in the Indian world, the federal government is attempting to "terminate title" for the prices of the land at the time it was originally stolen- ie: 1910, *plus interest.* In, turn, Indian heirs to these lands (many times there are 50 or more heirs to these lands) are to divide these "settlement checks" up. You can be sure that most White Earth enrollees won't end up with much more than enough to buy a carton of cigarettes and a bag of groceries. Since the S. 1396 literally amounts to a condemnation of private property, this becomes a violation of the fifth amendment of the constitution.

Finally, Anishinabe Akeeng pointed out in the testimony that many of the non-Indian landholders on White Earth would like to sell their lands. As, M.F. Shaumberg, Clerk of Chief Township, Mahnomen County (on the reservation) pointed out in a letter to the Senate Select Committee on Indian Affairs-

> ***"...Due to land claims, we can't mortgage our land or get a fair price when we sell. We are taxed on land that when we retire there is no market value, thus creating a great deal of emotional stress..."***

One aspect of Anishinabe Akeengs proposal, is that non-Indian landholders should be offered a "buy out" option- where moneys would be set aside in a trust fund to buy up lands for sale on the reservation. This proposal, it is thought, would ease some of the tension faced by non-Indians (especially if special provisions for farmers were placed in the fund), and, with over one fourth of all privately held land on the reservation "bad" or "unmarketable title", the White Earth Anishinabe Akeeng delegation, hopes that this option will be viewed positively. For the White Earth people, this would be a chance to rebuild our land base.

While Anishinabe Akeeng does not see that the road is clear to reclaim the reservation lands, the current "termination legislation" is on it's last leg. If the S. 1396 and H.R. 2678 are not passed by December 31 of 1985, state "enabling" (pressure) legislaton will expire, and the Congressmen will have to back to square one. Anishinabe Akeeng members are asking that people write to the Senate Select Committee, and or your Congressman to oppose the legislation. And, to support more long-term alternatives.

Remember, there is an anti-Indian lurking in every economically stricken community, border town, working class ghetto, and VFW Hall. On this battleground is one our first opportunities to turn them around.

THE PEOPLE's LAND
Anishinabe Akeeng

Dear Friends:

The White Earth Indian reservation in northern Minnesota is the site of the largest **internal** reservation land claim in the United States. What this means, is that through a variety of illegal

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Indigenous Peoples Meeting:

Geneva, Switzerland

REPORT ON THE 1985 SESSION OF THE U.N. WORKING GROUP ON INDIGENOUS POPULATIONS, JULY 29-AUGUST 2, 1985, AND ON THE INDIGENOUS PEOPLES' PRE-WORKING GROUP MEETING, JULY 22-JULY 26, 1985

This year, in preparation for the 4th session of the United Nations Working Group on Indigenous Populations, a meeting for all indigenous representatives was held in Geneva the week before the Working Group session. The five days of preparatory meetings brought together more than 100 indigenous representatives who exchanged ideas, drafted and endorsed a new Declaration of Principles on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples, adopted other joint proposals and achieved an unprecedented level of unity in the relation to the Working Group. An estimated 150 indigenous representatives took part in the Working Group session. This report will summarize what took place at the preparatory meeting and at the Working Group itself.

At last year's session of the Working Group on Indigenous Populations (1984), there was widespread agreement among many of the indigenous participants that there should be a purely indigenous peoples' meeting in Geneva one week prior to the next Working Group session. This meeting would permit all indigenous representatives to discuss common concerns and to develop a unified strategy and position for the Working Group.

A steering committee of most of the indigenous Non-Governmental Organizations was established to plan and coordinate the meeting. The steering committee was composed of the following organizations:

The Indian Law Resource Center
The Inuit Circumpolar Conference
The National Indian Youth Council
The International Indian Treaty Council
The Four Directions Council
The National Aboriginal and Islander Legal Services

The meeting was planned and co-sponsored by the above NGOs. The task of coordinating and making the necessary arrangements for the meeting was assumed by the Indian Law Resource Center.

This office secured meeting room facilities in the United Nations building, the Palais des Nations, in Geneva, and secured temporary office space and equipment. In addition, a private translation service in Geneva was retained to provide simultaneous interpretation in English and Spanish for the meeting.

This office along with other NGOs carried out an extensive mailing to announce the meeting and invite indigenous people to participate. Over 150 letters were sent to indigenous representatives in North, Central and South America, Australia, Europe, and elsewhere.

Although the meeting was planned to minimize costs and organizational requirements, there was unavoidable costs for the interpretation services, for making the room and office arrangements and other items. This office was able to secure some funds to meet these expenses from the Onaway Trust and OSFAM America. A few days prior to the meeting, an attorney of this office travelled to Geneva to confirm the arrangements that had been made by phone and correspondence.

The preparatory meeting was held from July 22 to 26, 1985. There were more than 100 participants from over fifteen countries including representatives of indigenous nations, indigenous organizations and indigenous NGOs. The meeting was open to all indigenous people and organizations without exception. Participants travelled from Brazil, Peru, Bolivia, Ecuador, Argentina, Chile, Mexico, U.S.A., Canada, Sweden, India, Australia, and elsewhere. Among those participating were the Union of Indigenous Nations (UNI) of Brazil; AIDESEP of Peru; CONFENIAE of Ecuador; CIDOB of Bolivia; Centro Chitakolla of Bolivia; The National Federation of Land Councils of Australia; The Center for Tribal Conscientization of India; Confederation Campesina del Peru; the South American Indian Council (CISA); CORPI (Central America); Movemiento de la Juventad Kuna of Panama; MISURASATA of Nicaragua; Coalition of First Nations, the Dene Nation, the Metis National Council, the Native Council of Canada, Grand Council Treaty No. 3, the Union of Ontario Indians, the Conne River Micmacs and many others of Canada; the World Council of Indigenous Peoples, and many more in addition to the sponsoring organizations. The meeting far exceeded expectations both in regard to attendance and the work that was achieved. At the beginning of the meeting the participants agreed to proceed as informally as possible and to make decisions by consensus. The position of chairman was assumed by a different individual daily. Early in the week, several hours were devoted to orientation and education about the Working Group and the United Nations generally. There was also a presentation on international human rights and the process of developing new international human rights standards.

The meeting then proceeded to a discussion and review of the situations and developments affecting indigenous people in their respective territories within nation-states. Naturally, there were many and varying problems and concerns that were expressed, including many concerns that were common to all the representatives.

To prepare specifically for the Working Group session the representatives decided to develop a draft declaraton of principles to submit to the Working Group to assist it in carrying out its mandate of developing new standards. The first step in establishing new and stronger international legal standards to protect the rights of indigenous people will be necessary for the Working Group to discuss and propose a Declaration of Principles on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples.

In preparing the new draft declaration several older draft declarations were studied and discussed in detail, including the Declaration of Principles adopted at the 1977 NGO Conference on Indigenous Populations in the Americas, the Principles for Guiding the Deliberations of the Working Group submitted in 1982, and the draft Declaration of Principles of the World Council of Indigenous Peoples. The discussions made it evident that none of the earlier drafts were sufficiently comprehensive to properly address all the varied concerns and situations. The rapporteurs at the meetings listed the problems with the old drafts and the changes and additions necessary for a new declaration.

A drafting committee was appointed by the participants to prepare a new draft based upon the discussion. The drafting committee was open to all who wished to participate. The new text prepared by the committee was then reviewed by all the participants and final changes were made. At last the Declaration was adopted by concensus of all the participants and opened for endorsement by all representatives. The Declaration was prepared in both English and Spanish.

It was discussed and understood by all the indigenous representatives that this new Declaration is a draft document which would be submitted to the Working Group and which would be taken back to our respective organizations, nations and communities for further review. The draft Declaration is not to be considered a final document, but rather the best and most comprehensive declaration which we were able to produce at our meeting with the broad participation of the many indigenous representatives from throughout the world.

The draft Declaration was endorsed by six indigenous NGOs and more than 17 other indigenous organizations and groups. It is expected that future discussion of standards will focus on this draft and the changes and additions which are expected.

In addition to adopting the Declaration of Principles, the participants in the meeting adopted two other proposals to be made to the Working Group. The first proposal was to recommend that the members of the Working Group actually prepare a draft text of just two principles which would synthesize the proposals and drafts that had been submitted thus far. The principles would be those dealing with 1) land rights, and 2) right to culture, religion, education and language.

The second proposal was to ask the Working Group to take the necessary measures to have the U.N. Secretariate prepare an analytical compilation of the documents and other information received concerning indigenous peoples in certain regions: the Amazonia region; the Andes, especially Peru, the Arctic region, especially Greenland, Canada and Alaska; Argentina; the Pacific region; especially Austrialia, East Timor and West Papua; Central America; and South Asia. The compilation would, we proposed, be circulated to countries and indigenous peoples organizations prior to the 1986 Working Group session.

The principal work of the preparatory meeting was completed by the end of the fifth day, Friday. However, it became clear that it would be essential to continue our discussions and our planning during the Working Group session and to discuss the draft Declaration of Principles and the two proposals with the indigenous representatives who would be attending the Working Group session but who had not attended the preparatory meeting. Therefore, the sponsoring NGOs arranged with the United Nations to have the use of a large meeting room each evening immediately after the closing of the Working Group meeting. Our team of Spanish and English interpreters agreed to continue working for the group without compensation, realizing the importance of the meetings and our lack of funds.

At the evening meetings, many new participants joined in our common efforts. Plans were made for coordinating the presentation of the Declaration of Principles and the two proposals, and particular speakers were chosen for the task. In addition, many new issues were raised and discussed at the evening meetings, including especially the situation of the indigenous people of West Papua and the negotiations between the government of Nicaragua and the Indian organization of Miskito, Sumo and Rama Indians, MISURASATA. Written statements concerning the situations of indigenous peoples in Sri Lanka, West Papua, Brazil and Nicaragua were discussed and circulated for support and signatures.

At the evening meetings, the importance of continuing the preparatory meetings next year prior to the Working Group session was extensively discussed. There appeared to be unanimous agreement that the preparatory meetings must take place again next year. The steering committee responsible for this year's meeting encouraged the participants in the meeting to select a new steering committee to organize next year's meeting. Though there was discussion of the desire to see additional groups represented on the steering committee and the need to have a greater spread of geographical representation, no new steering committee was selected. As a result, the existing steering committee will continue its duties and take steps to enlarge its membership in keeping with the general wishes of the meeting participants.

The success of this year's preparatory meeting is encouraging because a very diverse group of indigenous organizations and individuals were able to develop unified proposals and act together in presenting them to the Working Group. The meetings proved to be an effective way to develop and implement a united strategy based upon the broadly shared human rights concerns of indigenous peoples. The experience gained this year and the relationships that have developed will permit even broader participation and greater unity next year.

It should be mentioned that a separate training course was conducted by others which conflicted in part with the preparatory meeting. The training course involved about 24 indigenous people who were provided with free travel and accommodations to attend the two-week course held several miles outside Geneva. Those involved in the training course were able to attend only some the afternoon sessions and one morning session of the preparatory meeting. Numerous questions were raised about the training course, particularly the relatively low level of involvement of indigenous organizations in organizing the course, the lack of indigenous instructors, the means for selecting the participants, the funding by various governments, the political agenda of the course, the apparently low level of instruction in the course, and the scheduling which made it impossible for the course participants to take part fully in the preparatory meeting. We hope to discuss the problem of the training course more fully in a later memorandum.

Fourth Session of the Working Group on Indigenous Populations

When the Working Group began its session on Monday, July 29th, well over two hundred persons filled the large meeting room. The U.N. had assigned one of the largest meeting rooms for the Working Group. This large attendance, more than double that of last year, was predominantly made up of indigenous representatives. In addition, twenty countries and the Holy See had official observer delegations. Numerous non-indigenous support groups, human rights experts and non-governmental organizations were also present. This enormous show of interest is practically unprecedented for a working group, and it is, itself, a strong political statement about the importance and urgency of the issues being considered by the Working Group. Another change from previous years was that all the five members of the Working Group attended the session this year. The members, who are appointed each year by the outgoing Chairman of the Sub-Commission on the Prevention of Discriminaton and Protection of Minorities, were: Mrs. Erica Irene Daes (Greece), Mr. Miguel Alfonso Martinez (Cuba), Mr. Kwesi B.S. Simpson (Ghana), Mr. Ivan Tovervski (Yugoslavia), and Mrs. Gu Yiji (China). Mrs. Daes was again elected to serve as Chair for the Group as she did last year.

Last year, the Sub-Commission, the parent body of the Working Group, adopted a resolution requesting the Working Group henceforth to focus its attention on the preparation of standards on the rights of indigenous populations and to relate its consideration of developments affecting the rights of indigenous populations to the process of preparing international legal standards. Further, the Sub-Commission had called on the Working Group to consider the drafting of a body of principles on indigenous rights based on relevant national legislation, international instruments and other juridical criteria. Accordingly, the Working Group gave greater attention this year to the development of a declaration of principles, but unfortunately failed to take any concrete action whatever, at least as of this writing.

The Working Group is now in the process of adopting its report to the Sub-Commission and recommending resolutions to the Sub-Commission. At this writing we have only the Group's draft report but no draft resolutions. The final report is expected to be finished this week or next and will be presented to the Sub-Commission during the last week in August. Only then will we know exactly what the Working Group may have recommended and what the Sub-Commission will do.

According to the Working Group's plan of action, the Group was to consider this year the right of indigenous populations to develop their own culture, traditions, languages and way of life, including the rights to freedom of religion and traditional religious practices. These matters were given consideration, but, as always, indigenous speakers focused primary attention on the question of self-determination and land rights.

Many indigenous speakers made presentations about the conditions affecting them in their particular regions. Threats to indigenous subsistence economic activity were repeatedly discussed as were several instances of negotiation between states and indigenous peoples concerning basic rights. Statements generally reflected the full range of human rights abuses affecting indigenous peoples. Speakers included representatives of the people of the Chittigong Hill Tracts in Bangladesh; indigenous people of the Phillipines; West Papua; and Greenland; as well as many Indians of the Americas, Alaskan Natives and Aboriginal representatives from Australia.

Again this year, many speakers were interrupted by the Chair because the Chair regarded the statement as presenting a "complaint" against a particular country. The Group is extremely sensitive about allowing any "complaints" because many nations will try to put an end to the Working Group if it becomes a "chamber of complaints" On the other hand, it is difficult to dicuss human rights problems without giving the impression of making complaints. It is generally agreed that we must continue to explain to the Group that such statements are not complaints but are discussions of developments affecting the human rights of indigenous peoples.

Another problem was the lack of time near the end of the session, which resulted in several speakers being interrupted for taking too long. This is unfortunate since the Working Group adjourned early several times in the first few days of the session because there were no further speakers prepared. In the future it will be wise for representatives to be prepared to speak early in the session rather than to wait and risk being cut off. This year there were several speakers who never did get the opportunity to speak because of the shortness of time.

In our view the most notable development at the Working Group was the emergence of the broad unity of indigenous groups and organizations working together and making united proposals to the Working Group. The submission of the 20-point Declaration of Principles prepared, and endorsed by many organizations during and after the preparatory meeting, was the most comprehensive and far-reaching submission made to the Working Group thus far. The World Council of Indigenous Peoples had participated in the preparatory meetings, but submitted its own draft declaration of principles which had been developed at its meeting in Panama last year. These were the only concrete drafts submitted this year.

All of the Working Group members made statements during the session concerning the work of developing new human rights standards. All of the statements but one were rather positive. The most activist of the statements was by Sr. Alfonso who called for the immediate drafting of a text of the declaration of principles by the Working Group. Mr. Simpson compared the situation of indigenous peoples to colonialism and found it even worse than colonialism. He suggested that new standards should 'draw inspiration" from the Delcaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. He reminded all that any declaration must have the support of member governments in order to be adopted by the necessary bodies of the United Nations. The member from China also expresed support for new standards, pointing out that a degree of autonomy for indigenous peoples is possible within the concept of self-determination, but within existing nation-states. She pointed to examples in China.

One member, Mr. Tovsevski, made a statement which was broadly negative in tone and very much at odds with the fundamental assertions that have been made from the beginning by practically all indigenous representatives. He continues to believe that indigenous peoples are in fact just minorities within nations and not a different kind of people. In his view, creating the category of "indigenous peoples" would cause cunfusion by making two kinds of "peoples", indigenous and non-indigenous. In his view it would be "illusive" for the Working Group to attempt to define indigenous peoples. In his view, the emphasis placed on land rights was inappropriate since there is no need to tie land to cultural and ethnic identities. He felt that more time was needed for the clarification of concepts before any drafting could begin.

It should be noted that Mr. Tovsevski was one of those responsible for the creation of the Working Group and is generally throught to be very sympathetic to Indian and indigenous peoples' interests. He has, however, been the head of the Working Group on National Minorities for many years and had devoted many years to trying to develop a declaration of principles on the rights of national minorities, without much success. In 1980, several Indian representatives attended that Working Group and made statements that Indian peoples cannot be considered as merely national minorities. It may be that Mr. Tovsevski's frustrations after years of effort to win support for a declaration on national minorities are responsible for his negative position. The tremendous interest and the enthusiasm for the Working Group on Indigenous Populations might well seem inappropriate and unrealistic from his point of view. If he remains on the Working Group as he probably will, we must give special attention to his concerns and questions. Unless he can be persuaded to change his views, progress is likely to be very slow.

It should also be mentioned that many of the observer delegations from member nations spoke. Many statement were merely defensive or efforts to explain away some problem. Others were efforts to portray the country as very sympathetic to indigenous rights. The government of Norway spoke at length of the extensive funding it provides for various indigenous peoples' organizations in Norway and around the world. Apparently it was one of the sources of funds for the training course that was offered.

It is notable that many countries spoke of "self-determination" for indigenous people without hostility. Even the representative of Brazil mentioned "self-determination" as a possibility. Obviously, these countries may have very limited ideas about about the scope of that right. In any event the word is no longer taboo.

The final work on the Working Group must wait until we have the final report. We will also have, in about two or three weeks, the texts of the resolutions, if any, passed by the Sub-Commission relating to the Working Group.

Recent information: After this report was completed, we learned the Report of the Working Group may, after all, include a draft text of two principles, drafted by the Working Group. The principles are those dealing with the right to life, and the rights to culture, education, religion and language.

DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES

1. Indigenous nations and peoples have, in common with all humanity, the right to life, and to freedom from oppression, discrimination, and aggression.
2. All indigenous nations and peoples have the right to self-determination, by virtue of which they have the right to whatever degree of autonomy or self-government they choose. This includes the right to freely determine their political status, freely pursue their own economic, social, religious and cultural development, and determine their own membership and/or citizenship, without external interference.
3. No State shall assert any jurisdiction over an indigenous nation or people, or its territory, except in accordance with the freely expressed wishes of the nation or people concerned.
4. Aboriginal Indigneous nations and peoples are entitled to the permanent control and enjoyment of their aboriginal ancestral-historical territories. This includes surface and subsurface rights, inland and coastal waters, renewable and nonrenewable resources, and the economics based on these resources.
5. Rights to share and use land, subject to the underlying and inalienable title of the indigenous nation or people, may be granted by their free and informed consent, as evidenced in a valid treaty or agreement.
6. Discovery, conquest, settlement on a theory of terra nullius, and unilateral legislation are never legitimate bases for States to claim or retain the territories of indigenous nations or peoples.
7. In cases where lands taken in violation of these principles have already been settled, the indigenous nation or people concerned is entitled to immediate restitution, including compensation for the loss of use, without extinction of original title. Indigeous peoples' desire to regain possession and control of sacred sites must always be respected.
8. No State shall participate financially or militarily in the involuntary displacement of indigenous populations, or in the subsequent economic exploitation or military use of their territory.
9. The laws and customs of indigenous nations and peoples must be recognized by States' legislative, administrative and judicial institutions and, in case of conflicts with State laws, shall take precedence.
10. No State shall deny an indigenous nation, community, or people residing within its borders the right to participate in the life of the State in whatever manner and to whatever degree they may choose. This includes the right to participate in other forms of collective action and expression.
11. Indigenous nations and peoples continue to own and control their material culture, including archeological, historical and sacred sites, artifacts, designs, knowledge, and works of art. They have the right to regain items of major cultural significance and, in all cases, to the return of the human remains of their ancestors for burial in accordance with their traditions.
12. Indigenous nations and people have the right to be educated and conduct business with States in their own languages, and to establish their own educational institutions.
13. No technical, scientific or social investigations, including archeological excavations, shall take place in relation to indigenous nations or peoples, or their lands, without their prior authorization, and their continuing ownership and control.
14. The religious practices of indigenous nations and people shall by fully respected and protected by the laws of States and by international law. Indigenous nations and people shall always enjoy unrestricted access to, and enjoyment of sacred sites in accordance with their own laws and customs, including the right of privacy.
15. Indigenous nations and peoples are subjects of international law.
16. Treaties and other agreements freely made with indigenous nations or peoples shall be recognized and applied in the same manner and according to the same international laws and principles as treaties and agreements entered into with other States.
17. Disputes regarding the jurisdiction, territories and institutions of an indigenous; nation or people are a proper concern of international law, and must be resolved by mutual agreement or valid treaty.
18. Indigenous nations and peoples may engage in self-defense against State actions in conflict with their right to self-determination.
19. Indigneous nations and peoples have the right freely to travel, and to maintain economic, social, cultural and religious relations with each other across State borders.
20. In addition to these rights, indigenous nations and peoples are entitled to the enjoyment of all the human rights and fundamental freedoms enumerated in the international Bill of Rights and other United Nations instruments. In no circumstances shall they be subjected to adverse discriminiation.

Source: Indian Law Resource Center, 601 E Street, Southeast, Washington, D.C. 20003

HONOR: Phillip Deere and Dan Bomberry

It happened at the turn of the summer season in mid-August, two of the best slipped away. They went together on a morning at the time of a moon, a sun-drenched day over Turtle Island. Phillip Deere & Dan Bomberry passed into the spirit world within hours of each other. August 16th, 1985, a Friday.

Deere travelled throughout the world, and he had many stories of encounters with other traditional peoples. Deere's simple yet all-encompassing conversational style made him famous and sought after by many world audiences. He lectured in North American and European universities hundred of times.

Deere was middle-sized and well-conditioned, with a long, knowing face, a man who carried himself with very natural dignity. Even in simple, everyday clothes, he had a very strong, old-time Indian presence. For all of his international recognition, he was a simple-living, traditional man, conscious of his land and language, his sacred "stompgrounds," his ceremonies and the future of his people.

There is Phillip, on the edge of the dancing circle — long braids, wrapped in a red blanket, fringed mocassins, single eagle feather hanging down his hair. It was a large Pow wow, in Minneapolis, large auditorium full of Indians. Anishinabe drum; Lakota drum — a big sound filling the auditorium, hundreds of people waiting to dance and how even the fancy dancers, even the old women waited for Phillip's leathered feet. It was a respect, no less intense for being momentary, as the old women led the dancing, Phillip entering then, his respect complete.

There is Phillip on The Longest Walk — Washington, D.C., 1978 — thousands of Indians surrounding the capitol, listening to his every word. And his message: identity. Always: identity, culture, respect. "If there is but one, any one, of my Indian children wants to go back home, back to his tradition, I will take that hand," he said. "I will guide that hand home with me."

One remembers Phillip in the woods, how once during a dangerous fire, fighting the flames away from a house, a snake slithered out, a long, black snake that panicked among the people and how Phillip in a movement that was sweeping and classic and complete, reached out and caught it, just right behind the neck, and how he took his time, not showing it off, just holding it, for the longest time, how that snake wrapped itself around his neck, how it relaxed slowly until it hung on its own, Phillip smiling so you could see his gold tooth, black, flat-brimmed Oklahoma Indian hat wide on his head.

There is Phillip in Geneva, Switzerland, at the United Nations. One thinks of 1977. at an evening of cosmological exchanges — Aymaras, Quechuas, Kekchi, Quiche, Miskito, Mapuche, Iroquois, Lakotah, Hopi, Cree, Dene, Dineh and Phillip Deere. Indian people from throughout the continent exchanged philosophies, cosmology, spiritual knowledge. And there was Phillip, most at home, relaxed, hosting the gathering with his expansive knowledge, at one moment the group unruly, the energy dispersing, and Phillip starting to talk, steadily, softly at first, refusing to be drowned out but piercing it circularly, saying, "I am not like a tv set or a radio that you can turn me off. I like to talk so I'm going to keep on talking until you pay attention," how the silence came back and with it the focusing, comprehension. One remembers that about Phillip Deere, his way of focusing the people.

A profound spiritual leader, Phillip knew the present-day need for political action, for the community-enhancing prospect, for the protection of the cultures. He was a culture-bearing individual, one of the generation that is quickly passing, the authentic old-timers, the ceremony-holders, the fluent language speakers, the ones with the old, sharply-personal skills, the natural world thinkers, the prophesy-holders.

That time in Geneva, Dan Bomberry was in the room.

Bomberry was a formally-educated person. He was an activist/organizer/philosopher/fundraiser all rolled into one. Just turning forty, he was of the next generation from Phillip, who was in his late fifties. A Cayuga-Salish with strong ties to the Six Nations country, Bomberry was widely recognized as a visionary in the development field. He is best known for his application of "appropriate technologies" to reservation self-sufficiency projects.

He was a quiet, hard-working man, a man who knew his objectives, knew how to organize, how to judge people. Bomberry was one of those quiet rotors who continously generate ideas, whose projects worked, who makes a difference.

Along with Phillip, he was among the Indians who pioneered in the representation of Indian rights to the international arena, having been a delegate to major conferences at the United Nations. His grandfather, Daniel R. Bomberry, was a condoled Cayuga Chief of the Haudenosaune (Iroquois) Grand Council at the turn of the century.

A skilled fundraiser, Bomberry assisted dozens of fledging Indian self-sufficiency projects throughout North and Central America in the past 15 years. In the Years immediately before his illness, Bomberry was most concerned with the plight of Mayan Indians from Guatemala. He was instrumental in developing a public campaign about anti-Indian persecution in Guatemala that included a national mailing to all tribal chairmen and a full-page ad in the New York Times. Most recently, he was founder of the Seventh Generation Fund, the first Indian-controlled community foundation in North America.

Bomberry was a big man, with round head, neck, shoulders, broad back on a good girth of a waist, a round, big-boned Indian face. He was in overalls, no shirt, standing on a ladder, hammering in the east wall of a pole-house. This was in the Adirondack Mountains, at an Indian camp, in 1978. Bomberry had been out on one of his national rounds, visiting self-sufficiency projects. Somebody told him about the pole-house, all its advantages, etc., etc. And Bomberry, he was talking super-insulation those days, about French bio-intensive gardening. Soon, he was pounding nails. All day.

That camp functioned as a kind of down-home retreat for Indian country journalists, researchers, all manner of road men. Pounding nails and cutting wood by day; long talk by night. The long talk by night with Dan was a natural. Coffee heating on the crackling wood stove, Dan on the big chair, barrel-chested, broad-smiling. funny, and so absolutely, so completely intelligent. Talking energy consumption and producton, talking food and agriculture, other food cultures, gardens and other resources, talking community-development, talking about politics and philosophy, international trends — and Dan always with an intelligence that was crisp and clear and pretty like the thin layer of crystalized dew on the grass on a frosty morning.

He was a big man with a tender, crystaline, heart. Bomberry was a champion skate-boarder and an experienced surfer, and he had a wry, dead-pan style of humor, really funny and often biting, but never cruel. One remembers that about Dan Bomberry, a gentle, deliberately-directed preception he generated. In fact, he was one of those few "young old-timers," one of those conscious continuators who every generation spring up in Indian Country. It can be said Bomberry consciously acted out the principle of thinking clearly and acting cleanly for the People, for the future generations.

Deere in Oklahoma and Bomberry in California both took ill with cancer last year. Their illnesses, their deaths, most profoundly, their lives have impacted deeply across Indian Country.

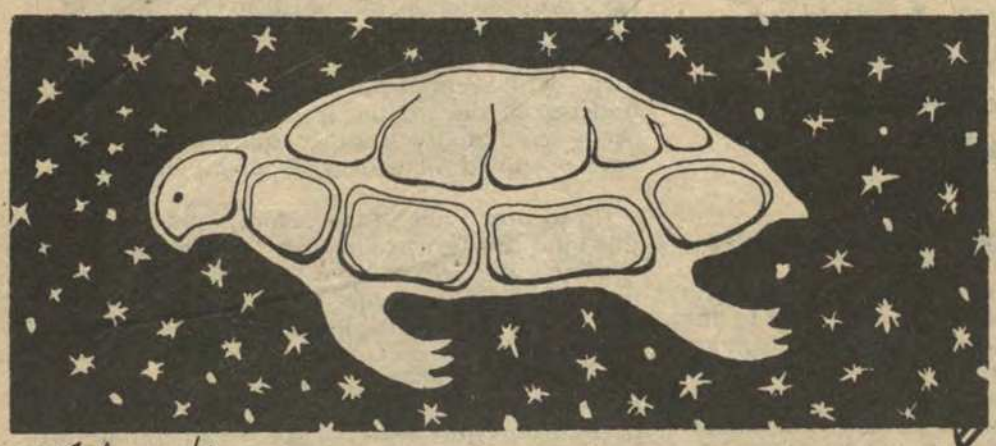
The tradegy is in their gift, in that they went young, plucked out of their generation in mid-stride, their visions just flowering, a vacuum left in their parallel paths, one that will pull, will pull.

Our most sincere condolences to the families, the communities of Dan Bomberry and Phillip Deere, and all the relations.

Jose Barriero, AICOM P.O. Box 71, Highland, M.D. 20777, 301-854-0499.

Poetry

By Aroniawenrate/Peter Blue Cloud



TURTLE

The winds are dark passages among the stars,
leading to whirling void pockets
encircled by seeds of thought,
life force of the Creation.
I am turtle,
and slowly, my great flippers move
propelling my body through space,
and starflowers scatter crystals
which fall as mist upon my lidded eyes.
I am turtle,
and the ocean of my life swim
is a single chant in the Creation,
as I pass others of my kind,
my own, unborn, and those,
the holy ancients of my childhood.

My swim is steady and untiring
for great is the burden given me,
the praise and privilege of my eternity
rests upon my back as a single seed
to which I am guardian and giver.
I am turtle,
and my tribes forever remain countless,
from the day I first raised my head
to gaze upon the born of my body,
and my head was a sun,
and Creation breathed life upon the seed
and four times, and again four times,
I wept for joy the birthing of my tribes,
and chanted Creation the glory
of all these wonderous days

The wrinkles are cracks upon this ancient
shell are the natural contours created
by the feel and request of burdened rock
and soil, blood and sustenance to
clans within clans,
I am turtle,
and the earth I carry is but
a particle in the greater Creation,
my mountains, plains and oceans,
mere reflections in a vaster sea.
Turtle, I am called,
and breathe clouds of rain,
and turn slowly my body to seasons
in cycle with my grandchild, Eagle,
whose wings enfold thunder pulses,
back to back, and
seldom meeting in time.

Patience was given me by Creation,
ancient song on tomorrow's wind,
this chant that was taught my tribes
is now unsung by many clans
of a single tribe,
and truly
such pains that exist for this moment,
which slay so many of the innocent
cannot but end in pain repeated
as all are reflected twins to self.
I am turtle,
and await the council of my tribes
clan into clan, the merging thought
that evil was never the star path, and
then the chant to the four directions,
I am turtle,
and death is not yet my robe,
for drums still throb the many
centers of my tribes, and a young
child smiles me of tomorrow,
"and grandparent,"
another child whispers, "please,
tell again my clan's beginning."

BEAR

A Totem Dance As Seen By Raven
(for Ranoies)

The black bear does a strange and shuffling dance
foot to foot slowly, head back, eyes closed
like that of a man.
Beneath a loosely falling robe,
mouth sewn shut upon protruding tongue
of red-stained cedar shreddings.
Foot to foot slowly in lumbering
shadow dance
within the fog and rain of high, thick ferns,
beneath a dripping, tapping spruce,
echo of raven
morning cry of night visions unwanted.

A heavy, leaning snag it seems at first
the sound of crashing fall
suspended
between ground and lowered sky.
then swirl of fog unveils
a huge head
carved atop the pole, a silver-grey of cedar.

Gnashing of angry teeth at driftwood shore
and killer whale spews up
a wreckage
of pock-infested sailors.

Foot to foot slowly, the totem dance continues,
sky to earth the leaning weight
of pole
and people and bear
and now the drum,
rectangular and fringed with clacking claws.

A chant begins of deep-voiced rumbling,
of the black slate carved
into bowls now broken
with fragments scattered in despair
of a death not prophesied.

Great cedar poles in moist earth,
these dwellngs speak with dark passages,
(the rib of a tribe is a brittle section
of a dugout
or what is
of a stolen house post,
vast heritage dragged
into strange museums)

and still, and forever, foot to foot slowly
the strange and shuffling dance continues.
And day after day the mourning chants
and keeing voices silence all else
as dugouts
with quiet paddles
convey the dead to sacred islands
in endless procession.

And soil seeps thru roof cracks to fill
the huge and silent dwellings.
And totems lean from which
great eyes
gaze either up to sky or down to earth,
And the death of a village is a great sorrow,
and the pain of the survivors
is a great anguish
never to heal.

Slowly and gently
foot to foot balanced
and awkward in beauty
the child dances.
And grandfather taps,
delicately taps
the drum and his voice is very, very low,
and the song is a promise
given a people
in the ancient days of tomorrow.

And grandmother's stiff
and swollen fingers
weave cedar and fern and spruce,
and occasionally
in a far away closeness
her eyes seek the dancing child.

The bear pauses in his quest for food
to stand and sniff the air
then in a dream like a fasting
he begins
to shuffle
foot to foot slowly
as the dance continues.

Indigenous Peoples of the Peruvian Amazon:
Land, Natural Resources, and Definition of Indigenous Peoples
PART TWO

FORESTRY LEGISLATION

Regarding forests, the legislation previously discussed also increases the possibilities for granting large extensions of forest lands to lumber companies. As in the case of agricultural lands, the new and extensive lumber concessions being granted to enterprises in many cases supersede the ancestral possessions of our indigenous populations. Contracts grant extensions that may range from 20,000 to 200,000 hectares for renewable terms of up to twenty years.

For example, the contracts for lumber exploitation in Biave-Cordillera Azul National Park (in the northern jungle) awards more than 1,400,000 hectares to private enterprises.

In the Apurimac National Forest (in the central jungle), seven companies have accumulated more than 1,054,000 hectares.

In the Alexander von Humboldt National Park (in the central jungle) private companies have requested 650,000 hectares.

By 1978, the greater part of the National Parks' surface had already been handed over. And this is precisely one of the peculiar features of both the 22175 Law and the D.L. 02: they both allow the exploitation by private enterprises of National Forests, the first under State control and the second by doing away with it while at the same time increasing the maximum extension that may be granted. The consequences of this irrational extraction of forest resources are severely damaging to both the indigenous populations and the Amazonian ecosystem. According to various experts who have carried out careful technical studies, 4,500,000 hectares of forest lands have already been irreversibly destroyed in the Peruvian Amazon. It is estimated that at the current rate, 12,000,000 hectares will be lost by the year 2,000. The destruction of these forests, located in the oriental slopes of the Andean mountain range, will lead to soil erosion, which will in turn bring about negative changes in the water cycle. As soils are increasingly eroded and washed out, the sedimentation of river beds will likewise increase, thus leading to the overflow of rivers which will make them impossible for both navigation and fishing. The floods of surrounding cultivated fields will likewise increase, thus occasioning their destruction. In recent years the number of indigenous native communities that have had to suffer the tragic consequences of these floods during the rainy season has risen.

FAUNA EXTINCTION

As the forest is destroyed, the animal species which inhabit it vanish as well. In this manner the main source of protein of our indigenous populations is lost, which in turns leads to greater levels of undernourishment.

THE EXTINCTION OF FOREST SPECIES

Since the commerical exploitation of lumber is selective, only the most profitable species are extracted, thus leading to their disappearance and a resulting impoverishment of the Amazonian forests. For example, in the Province of Oxapampa (in the central jungle), due to such intensive extracton the "ulcumano" species (Pedecarpus sp.) has now disappeared altogether.

THE EXPLOITATION OF THE LABOR FORCE

The wages paid to the individuals who cut down the timber, among which many indigenous people are to be found, is well below the national market price for lumber. Payment is often in kind rather than in cash, and the goods are more often than not highly overpriced. This kind of exploitation may reach horrible levels.

While giant extensions of the Amazon's surface are being granted to lumber companies and other enterprises, we indigenous populations have only received titles for approximately 1,500,000 hectares out of the total of 73,000,000 hectares which makes up the Peruvian Amazon. This means that the extension that has been recognized as ours amounts to no more than 2% of the total.

For example, one may mention that while 50% of the native communities and settlements in existence among the Aguaruna (in the northern jungle) have received titles to their lands, only about 5% have done so in the entire Department of Madre de Dies (in the southeastern lowlands).

CONSERVATION UNITS

The so-called "conservation units" are considered by law as forestry resources. They are defined according to the Forestry and Fauna Law as "...areas needed for the protection, conservation, and use of the wild fauna, including those of special significance for historical, landscape, or scientific reasons." National Parks are among these conservation units deemed intangible in order to protect their animal and plant life. We will refer to the Manu National Park since indigenous brothers are found within its boundaries who are currently being threatened along with the entire unit of conservation due to private and State investment projects (see under oil and projects). Created in 1973, the Manu National Park has been declared as one of the units of the "Man and Biosphere" Program of the United Nations. It contains an area of 1,532,000 hectares and is located in the departments of Cusco and Madre de Kies (southeastern jungle). It is one of the richest conservation areas in the world and the largest in Latin America. The conservation of this area is of great importance for the preservation and scientific knowledge of the Amazon's zoologic and botanical wealth. It is the land of close to 2,000 indigenous brothers that belong to three different ethnic groups: the Yaminahau, Machiguenga, plus a still unidentified group, and all of whom have chosen to live there in relative isolation and in small settlements, the largest of which has 80 inhabitants. And, yet, not one of them has obtained the legal recognition of their lands which would back them up under their current circumstances. Their condition is rather delicate as a result now that an oil company is requesting those lands, a road threatens with being built through the Park, and the President has come up with the absurd project of interconnecting two river basins in that area through the construction of a canal.

(d) Colonization - Special Projects

The Amazon has historically been considered, much as it is today, as an immense territory, wealthy in resources, with very fertile lands, uninhabited, and, in a few words, yet to be conquered. This ideology is the foundation of the current colonization schemes which the governemnt now offers as a panacea for many of the nation's economic problems - namely, as the future source of development through the exploitation of its resources and the transfer of that excess population which currently poses a severe social problem for the government and which has yet to find its place within the nation's economy.

It is an ideology of conquest which denies our existence as indigenous peoples of the Amazon and our rights to the lands and resources which we require in order to survive. This is how we have always been dispossessed of what is rightfully ours; we now have very little left and even this they want to take away.

The current government of President Belaunde, as in his prior term of office, continues to raise the banner of "Peru's conquest by Peruvians". This expression fosters the territorial occupation of the Amazon by way of colonization projects and the extraction of resources through land grants to national and international private enterprises.

We think the following kinds of colonization should be distinguished; offical government colonizations carried out through the so-called "Special Projects" (Provectes Especiales), unofficial colonizations conducted by private enterprises with government approval and, finally, spontaneous colonizations.

THE COLONIZATION PROJECTS

Financed through substantial international credits, these projects are presented as a complex of investments designed to create the infrastructure required by colonists, including penetration roads, urban centers, agroindustrial compounds, alimentary and industrial crops (with the end of turning the Amazon region into the nation's food pantry, and, in particular, for Lima, the capital), and, lastly, the extraction and transformation of forestry sources.

Under the policy which advocates the "expansion of the agricultural and demographic frontiers" through such projects, what is actually taking place in the end is no more than the old colonization policy, if only this time around it is being conducted in a somewhat more refined manner that requires of greater investments and, as result, also greater expectations of profit. The presumed aim is to cover the national demand for employment and the lack of land among coastal and highland populations. With this end in mind there is disregard for the opinions being put forth by experts in the areas of ecology and rural development, who recommend that such projects be not undertaken due to the frailty of the Amazonian ecosystem, and by us indigenous populations who have occupied these areas since very early times.

Up to now none of the colonization projects of this kind has turned out to be successful. On the contrary, the effects have tended to be counterproductive. This is true, for example, of the colonization project in the River Huallaga area (central and northern jungle), where the development of both roads and colonizations have only served to foster the large-scale drug traffic operations. It has become the only way out for the economic problems being affronted by producers due to the impoverishment of the soils and the absence of an agrarian policy which could set better pricing systems for alternate crops.

An analysis of the current situation could very easily lead us to the conclusion that in a foreseeable future the regions upon which the colonization projects are focusing will sooner or later become important drug traffic points. As an example of this tendency one may cite what is taking place in the Ene and Apurimac Rivers (central jungle), inhabited by Ashaninka indigenous populations, and where a number of outside drug traffic groups have started to be detected.

The following are Special Projects currently in action: Pichis-Palcazu, Alto Huallaga, Jaen-Begua-SanIgnacio, Huallage Central - Bajo Mayo, Alte Mayo, Madre de Dios and Cuencas dsel Purus y Ucayali. The most important projects affecting indigenous populations are the Pichis-Palcuzu, Jaen-Bagua-San ignacio, and Madre de Dios. However, the Pichis-Palcazu Project is surely causing the greatest alterations among our indigenous brothers in that area, namely, the Amuesha and Ashaninka. The other two projects are not having a great an impact, but they don't reap any benefits either for the indigenous populations in those areas, among which one may include among others the Aguaruna, Huambisa, Amarakaeri, Toyoeri, Arasaeri, Esse Exa, Machiguenga, Huachipaeri, and Yaminahua.

Regarding the Pichis-Palcuzu Special Project and its impact on both the indigenous populations and the colony of the region, much has been written. Numerous experts inthe ecological, social, agricultural, and forestry fields have given their opinions regarding its negative consequences. The organizations of the Amuesha and Ashaninka indigenous population within the area in question have repeatedly gone before the government in order to claim their rights to their land before the imminent invasion of colonists takes place (their lands are partly titled but the extensions that have been allotted are so reduced that they now need to obtain extensions). They have also requested support to continue with their own development efforts. But hardly any attention has been paid to them, and the government projects have continued to go ahead. If their lands have been partially titled this is owned to some extent to the pressure that was exerted by international lending institutions; but the principle of territoriality has not as yet been respected. This leads us to demand once again the recognition of territorially continous areas.

The "Ciudad Constitucion" has been created as a development pole, and has been greatly propagandized by the government, once more clearly contradicting the opinion put forth by experts. Furthermore, it is the reason why the surrounding indigenous Amuesha and Ashaninka communities (Hauswlad and Enock), located within the perimeters of this "city", have not been able to acquire titles to their land, an endeavor which becomes increasingly difficult with each day that passes. Too many created interests are now standing in the way.

Furthermore, only a few days ago two members of the Amuesha organization were captured and accused of "terrorism" when the government learned about their participation in the protests against the project. This consitutes a flagrant violation of human rights.

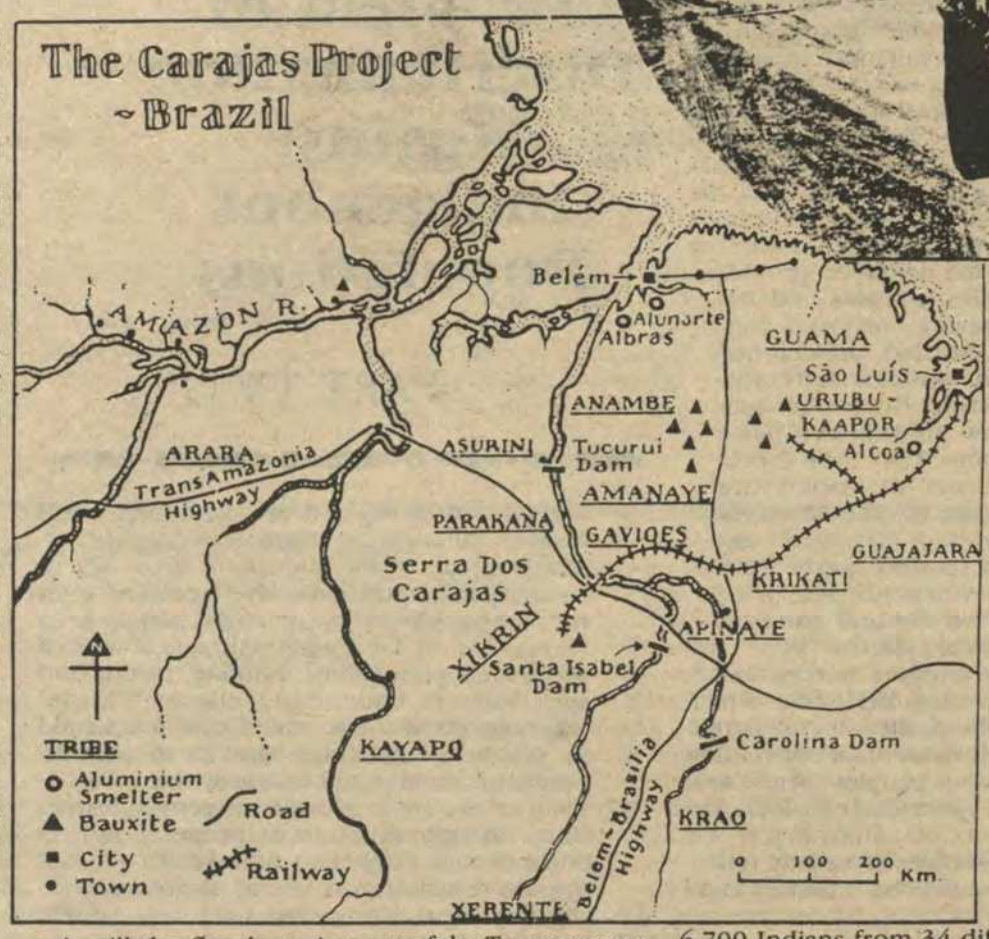
THE COLONIZATION ENTERPRISES

We want to mention a very current and clear illustration of how private interest responding to a well-defined government policy and which also count with the latter's support, takes advantage of the crisis situation which now exists in Peru in

Continued on Page 30

Assault on the Amazon

(The following is from Survival International News, No. 9, 1985. The issue has much more news on South America, as well as other world tribal people. We urge you to contact them. Survival International, 29 Craven Street, London WCZN 5NT England)



Mines and Dams

One of the most ambitious programmes yet undertaken by Brazil, the Grande Carajas Programme, is a massive development project, with total costs estimated at exceeding US$62 billion, being implemented in the eastern part of Brazilian Amazonia.

Covering an area larger than Great Britain and France combined, the project centres on the Serra dos Carajas — a vast deposit of high grade iron ore. The mine will be linked by a 900km new railway to a new deep-sea port at Sao Louis.

But these projects, while forming the core of the scheme, in fact constitute less than a tenth of the overall programme, which also includes a series of major dams on the Tocantins river, the extension of roads and highways, major bauxite mines and aluminium smelters, as well as manganese, tin, gold, nickel and copper mines. The scheme also involves major agricultural developments.

In May 1982 the EEC granted a US$600 million loan. The reason for the loan lies in the importance of the project for future deliveries of iron ore to the EEC's steel industries. The contracts contain favourable pricing conditions to the EEC and will help to preserve the competitiveness of the European steel industry.

But the hidden costs of the programme have not been given so much attention. Already there are signs of land conflicts and wild land speculations. Gangs of *pistoleiros* have been active in evicting peasants and tribal peoples and deaths are now regularly reported.

Particularly at risk are the 5,000 Indians of the area, many of whom have been permanently displaced from their lands. The Tucurui dam alone will displace or interfere with the lives of some 3,600 Indians. Once completed the dam will flood a total area of 216,000 hectares including approximately 100,000 hectares of the lands reserved for the Parakana Indians.

These Indians were first contacted only in the 1940s and remained isolated until the construction of the Transamazonia highway in the early 1970s. Estimated as numbering around 1,000 in 1944, the Indians have been numerically reduced to about 227 due to diseases transmitted through contact.

Relocated by the 'pacification' teams, the Parakana have become disoriented and are neglecting their subsistence base, thus making themselves dependent on government handouts. The further relocation made necessary by the damming is the last thing they need and moreover, since the reservoir will also flood a major part of the Transamazon highway they will lose even more land when this road is reconstructed across the remains of their reservations.

Recent reports have revealed that defoliants used in preparing the area for inundation have caused serious health problems for the Xikrin and Parakana Indians. Particularly serious is mounting evidence that the defoliation teams have litered the area with unused drums of chemical and fears have been expressed the dangerous pollution of the lake which isnow being filled.

Road Building

Another vast project which menaces both the Amazon forests and the Indians is the Polonoreste development programme in Western Amazonia. Funded by the world Bank, the road-building and colonization project threatens the survival of about 6,700 Indians from 34 different tribal groups.

In a recent letter to the World Bank, Survival International and other pro-Indian and environmentalist organizations noted 'the Bank's $443.4 million investment has so far contributed to uncontrolled migration, accelerated deforestation, conversion of land to unsustainable cattle-ranching, land speculation, and increased encroachment on Indian areas.'

Nearly all the 27 recognized Indian areas have been invaded and the Indians are suffering seriously from introduced diseases. Far from adequately protecting the area, the Brazilian government has failed to prevent these incursions and has not even demarcated ten of the areas. As one World Bank official recently admitted either these lands are demarcated and defended now, or the Indians will disappear within four or five years.

AYLLU: Peru's Disappeared

Who We are...

AYLLU is a group formed in North America in support of the non-violent struggle of the committee of the Relatives of the Disappeared, Detained and kidnapped in the Peruvian Andean districts of Ayacucho, Apurimac, and Hauancavelica.

In the Ayacucho region, 4,000 indigenous people disappeared since 1980 because of attacks on the Sendero Luminoso (Shining Path). 4,000 Indians have been killed by the Military or the guerrillas and 2,500 innocent people are in prisons. The Peruvian Military with U.S. sanction is committing genocide in the Andes.

The Government of Peru is receiving more military aid and arms from the United States than any other South American land. The United States is aiding and abetting an arms race in this Andean country — a mirror of our global nuclear arms race.

A Committee of the relatives of the Disappeared, detained and kidnapped of Ayacucho has been formed, and is seeking a non-violent solution, under guidance of SERPAJ — Service for Peace and Justice — Peru.

Since there is a clear connection between the nuclear arsenal and the increasing repression, and because we share a faith in non-violent love and basic community, we have joined our efforts to our brother and sisters in the ANDES.

BACKGROUND

In 1982 the Peruvian government declared a State of emergency in the area of Ayacucho and moved to suspend several constitutional guarantees in some provinces of the departments of Ayacucho, Apurimac and Huancavelica located in the southern andean region of Peru.

The Politico-Military Command, unable to control the escalation in subversive activity, directs its action against innocent and defenseless peasants and illiterate and poor in the cities, repressing children, women, elderly and the general population indiscriminately.

Victims and their relatives have constantly denounced the kidnappings, detentions/disappearances and unjust imprisonments which violate the most basic human rights.

The most degrading possible forms of torture are used, methods which are sophisticated and insulting to the human person. Among the more striking and intolerable human rights violations which might be cited, are the torture centers inside the General Headquaters of the Politico-Military Command and their local military posts, as well as the abstracting of self-incriminating confessions under torture, forcing victims to go against their own conscience.

In the face of this situation Latin America's Service of Peace and Justice planned the visit to Peru of Adolfo Perez Esquivel, Winner of the Nobel Peace Prize and Latin American Coordinator of SERPAJ, who went right to Ayacucho, the very center of the violence and witnessed to the gravity of the human rights violations.

NO U.S. INTERVENTION IN PERU'

The Reagan administration is asking congress to double the military aid to Peru. State department officials said "they hope the Peruvians will spend the money for counter-insurgency equipment, such as helicopters, to be used against the guerrillas". The peasants know these will be used on them.

CHILDREN DISAPPEAR:

Most terrible of all the repressions in Peru is the killing and disappearances of CHILDREN. Many of the victims have been between the ages of 14 and 19. Many if not all are Quechua Indian children who are first abducted by the Military, detained, disappeared and found months later in graves along the Andean roads or a nearby river. Many graves have been found in the Ayachucco region lately. The young bodies are marked by torture and mutilation. This tactic is known to be taught in military and police training centers. A Peruvian Journalist reported a story about three such children whose bodies were found in a grave at Santa Barbara, 24 kilometros from Ayacucho.

AYACUCHO, CORNER OF THE DEAD. Slide presentation produced by SERPAJ/PERU is available. Slides show a common grave where three teenagers are found. These were disappeared children taken into custody by the military.

If you are interested in more information or to view a slide presentation of the injustice filmed by SERPAJ/PERU please contact: ATLANTIC LIFE COMMUNITY, AYLLU, BOX 411, New Haven, Conn., 06502.

Report and Analysis of the Study of the Problem of Discrimination Against Indigenous Populations

by Roger Jones

PART TWO

DEFINITION OF INDIGENOUS POPULATIONS

As indicated, the study will play an important role in stimulating further discussion of the development of new international legal standards for indigenous populations. Already a portion of the study has been considered and adopted as a working document for consideration by the Working Group. In each of the three previous sessions of the Working Group attention has been given to the question of how to determine which groups should be considered as indigenous populations. A specific agenda item at the third session was the question of a definition and there was general agreement that it would be premature for the Working Group to adopt a final definition. However, there was general agreement among all speakers that the definition in the Cobo Study should serve as a working definition for the preliminary phase of the Working Group's work. That definition provides:

> "Indigenous communities, peoples and nations are those which, having a historical continuity with pre-invasion and pre-colonial societies that developed on their territories consider themselves distinct from other sectors of the societies now prevailing in those territories, or parts of them. They form at present non-dominant sectors of society are determined to preserve, develop and transmit to future generations their ancestral territories, and their ethnic identity, as the basis of their continued existence as peoples, in accordance with their own cultural patterns, social institutions and legal systems."[10]

There was, however, a consensus among the indigenous participants that any definition which might eventually need to be drafted in connection with the preparation of a declaration or convention should come from indigenous peoples themselves.

This illustrates the need for careful consideration and analysis of the Martinez Cobo Study before it is embraced by indigenous peoples as a study reflective of indigenous populations' desires and demands.

CONCLUSIONS

After the review, the Special Rapporteur compares indigenous populatons to the general population in specific areas: (1) health: (2) housing; (3) education; (4) language; (5) culture and cultural, social and legal institutions; (6) employment; (7) land; (8) political rights; (9) religious rights and practices; and (10) equality in administration of justice and legal assistance.

Following are some of the major findings of the Special Rapporteur in these specific areas:

1)Health-facilities and services are not equally accessible to indigenous peoples, insofar as they form part of the rural population.

2)Housing-in general, the quality of rural housing is still very poor everywhere, but that of indigenous rural housing is even worse as it is generally inferior to the rural housing of the poorest section of the dominant group. The problems can be attributed to neglect, lack of necessary action or discrimination by public authorities or by non-indigenous persons or groups.

3)Education-the right of indigenous populations to education has not been duly guaranteed and is not observed. States frequently do not recognize traditional indigenous education based on indigenous educational processes and often deliberately aim at doing away with it and replacing it with formal, alien and alienating educational processes.

4)Language-the policies followed in a great many States are based on the assumption that indigenous populations, cultures and languages would disappear naturally or by absorption into other segments of the population and the "national culture". It has been expected that the indigenous languages would disappear, perhaps even before that, in the face of the dynamism, the quality and the attraction of the official languages. For that reason, no stress was laid on State plans to teach the indigenous languages or use them as languages of instructon for some of the initial phases of education.

5)Culture and cultural, social and legal institutions — some sectors resort to an ideology of colonial origin which preaches the need to "civilize" groups with a "primitive" conception of the world, based on the assumption that "modern" culture is superior to "primitive" culture. Where measures may be described as deliberately designed to eliminate a group's culture by acts of systematic destruction and obstruction, they might even be regared as constituting clear cases of ethnocide or cultural "genocide".

6) Employment - an important area where abuses and impositions have occurred is in the constant hostility towards, and lack of recognition of the traditional occupations of indigenous populations, hunting, fishing and agriculture as traditionally practiced by indigenous populations have been denounced as primitive, ineffective and even harmful practices that should be abandoned.

7) Land - there are in many cases general restrictions on administration of property and on some personal rights. A number of countries impose restictions on acts of disposing of indigenous land. The power to dispose of that land is vested exclusively in communities or groups whose members have only the temporary and specific use of a parcel of land within the communal property. At times, the very state agency charged with the protection of indigenous lands has alienated indigenous land or allowed non-indigenous persons to settle on indigenous land without any compensation or redress in the face of claims against such actions.

8) Political rights — the representative of indigenous peoples in the national governments remains inadequate and is sometimes purely symbolic. However, people are not so much concerned about their participation in the national government as they are about being able to govern themselves. In sectors where the indigenous peoples exercise some form of government they are merely administrators of the policies of the national government. There appears to be no real exercise of self-government as demanded by various indigenous groups.

9) Religious rights - indigenous populations in certain sectors are still subjected to systematic campaigns of forced conversions. Their religions and practices are not respected because they are not considered as being included in the "world's great religions".

10)Equality in the Administration of Justice the principle of equality in the administration of justice is not at present actually applied to indigenous populations. The official language of the nation-state is used in all court proceedings which results in the indigenous person not understanding if interpretors are not available and is denied fairness. Other factors are the cultural differences which are important and basic in this regard.

RECOMMENDATIONS

These findings and conclusions are very dismal and clearly indicate a need for some sweeping changes in the nation-states' treatment of indigenous populations.

In my review of the recommendations offered by the Special Rapporteur I found that they contained language and advocated principles which the indigenous populations themselves have long been demanding.

My only concern about the recommendations as contained in the study is that the Special Rapporteur has neglected to discuss why he believes the recommendations as proposed will remedy the dismal situation as described in his conclusions. For the benefit of the member countries of the United Nations, a discussion as to why he makes the recommendations as they appear would have been of major assistance and might have resulted in greater acceptance of the recommendations.

The recommendations begin with the proposal that the United Nations generally must become more aware of the human rights problem of indigenous populations and that the Working Group on Indigenous Populations should be strengthened and encouraged in its work. The immediate task of the Working Group should be to begin formulating a body of basic principles to be duly formulated in the text of a draft declaration and propose in due course a draft convention on the subject for the competent bodies of the United Nations.

The study further recommends that the question of a definition must be left to the indigenous communities themselves. The fundamental principle should be that indigenous populations must be recognized according to their own perception and conception of themselves in relation to other groups.

As regards the special legal regime and policies established by the national governments for indigenous populations they must be altered fundamentally in order to do justice to the aspirations and desires of indigenous populations which have for so long been subjected to interference and imposed conditions of all kinds.

Pluralism, self-management, self-government, autonomy and self-determination are the formulae advocated in the recommendations.

The Martinez Cobo Study has recommended action in the following specific areas:

1) Health - governments should do their utmost to see that health and other services are made readily available to the indigenous population. Adequate health facilities should be established in areas where indigenous peoples are located. Cultural barriers should be overcome through the training of indigenous personnel and the involvement of the indigenous personnel and the involvement of the indigenous community in the administration or distribution of services.

2) Housing - where possible, governments should implement their indigenous housing programmes through indigenous community cooperatives or housing associations. Governments should involve indigenous communities in the planning, location, design and construction of houses to be built in their communities.

3) Education - policies designed deliberately to "de-indigenize" indigenous populations should be abandoned or discontinued as total of overall cultural oppression which should be rejected *in toto*. Indigneous populations should be guaranteed sufficient control over the form and content of their education to ensure that such subversion ceases immediately. Indigenous populations should be permitted to participate fully in the educational process and in the teaching profession, in the preparation of materials, plans and curricula and in the creation, administration and operation of educational institutions intended for them.

4) Language - the state must make an effort to provide, at the primary level, sufficient facilities for the teaching of the mother tongue of indigenous children; in all circumstances it must teach them to read and write in their mother tongue and consolidate this knowledge before teaching them any other dialect or language as a second language.

5) Culture - state cultural policy must be developed within a context of recognition of the existence of indigenous cultures, and on the basis of the rules of respect for the manifestation of indigenous cultures and, where it is the clearly expressed desire of the indigenous populations, respect for their right to preserve, develop and pass on such cultures to their descendants.

6) Employment - respect for the life-styles and traditional occupations of indigneous populations should prevail in all countries. Ways and means must be found to reduce the rates of underemployment and unemployment among indigenous workers.

7) Land - ancient or immemorial possession and occupation should suffice to establish indigenous title to land. Ownership of indigenous land by respective indigenous populations should be immediatelv recogniz-

ed by all States. Land occupied and controlled by indigenous populations should be presumed to be indigenous land.

No intermediary institution of any kind should be created or appropriated to hold the land of indigenous peoples on their behalf.

Partition of communal indigenous lands should only be undertaken at the explicit and reiterated petition, resulting from a clear and verified consensus, of the "co-owners" acting through their traditional institutions.

The principle of unrestricted ownership and control of land, including all natural resources, by indigenous peoples should be recognized. The lands, land rights and natural resources of indigenous peoples should not be taken, and these rights should not be terminated or extinguished unilaterally or without the full and informed consent of the indigenous peoples concerned.

8) Political Rights - governments must abandon their policies of intervening in the organization and development of indigenous people and must grant them autonomy, together with the capacity for managing the relevant economic processes in the manner in which they themselves deem appropriate to their interests and need.

Self-determination, in its many forms, must be recognized as the basic pre-condition for the enjoyment by indigenous peoples of their fundamental rights and the determination of their own future.

Self-determination in essence constitutes the exercise of free choice by indigenous peoples who must, to a large extent, create the specific content of this principle, in both its internal and external expressions, which do not necessarily include the right to secede from the State in which they live and to set themselves up as sovereign entities. This right may in fact be expressed in various forms of autonomy and collective rights to be different and to be considered different.

9) Religious rights - necessary measures must be taken to prevent any act or practice of interference, disruption or prohibition of indigenous rites, practices and ceremonies. Access to, respect for and protection of traditional burial places and sacred objects must be guaranteed by States.

10) Equality in the Administration of Justice - appropriate arrangements must be made to ensure that accused, plaintiffs, witnesses or experts who are of indigenous origin are afforded the use of their language at all stages of proceedings.

In areas with large indigenous populations the establishment of joint or indigenous courts should be encouraged, if they do not already exist, and indigenous courts existing in such areas should be accorded recognition.

These recommendations appear to reflect the desires and demands of the indigenous populations since they contain proposals and legal standards which also appear in the instruments adopted by indigenous populations during international deliberations among indigenous representatives, namely, the "Draft Declaration of Principles for the Defense of the Indigenous Nations and Peoples of the Western Hemisphere", adopted at the 1977 United Nations Non-Governmental Organization Conference on Discrimination Against Indigenous Populations, and the "Principles for Guiding the Deliberations of the Working Group on Indigenous Populations" transmitted by the Working Group to the United Nations Sub-Commission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities.

A copy of the study may be obtained by writing to the Human Rights Center in Geneva (United Nations, Palais des Nations, CH 1211 Geneva 10, Switzerland).

END

NOTES

10 Report of the Working Group on Indigenous Populations on its Third Session, para. 108 at p. 19.

Kerr-McGee's Weapons Grade Uranium Processing Plant: Sequoyah Fuels Plant, Oklahoma

Greetings,

We hope this issue finds all our readers (old and new) in good health and spirits. We are happy to report some positive things this month. Two of the Silkwood lawyers, Jim Ikard and Art Angell, have agreed to represent us during the Public Hearing on the Kerr-McGee (KM) application to build a weapons grade uranium processing plant AND the Field Foundation has funded a para-legal, Georgia Dick, to work with us for a year to do legal research, etc. Welcome aboard to all three.

We want to assure people that our uncoming demonstration at the Sequoyah Fuels plant will be completely legal. We will break NO laws. It is meant soley as a means of educating the general public to the fact that KM is building the plant before it is licensed.

We have been in contact with the Sheriff to ensure him that we will neither block the road nor cross onto the KM property. We will simply gather at 1 p.m. on Sept. 21st, to hear speakers (our vice-chief, Wilma Mankiller, is our only firm committment as of press time), and then dismiss. Public protest is our constitutional right!

The date for the Public Hearing still has not been set, but Sept. 12 is the deadline for groups or individuals to apply to speak. Cherokee Nation and Citizens Action for a Safe Environment (a Tulsa based Group) have already joined us as co-petitioners and the Arkansas Peace Center (in Little Rock) is expected to file by the deadline. We urge all interested parties to join by writing:

John H., Frye III
Administrative Judge
U.S. Nuclear Reg. Comm.
Washington, D.C. 20555
or call him toll free at
1-800-368-5642

Uranium is the raw material of the nuclear process and from mining to the final use of it, radioactive wastes are produced. At every stage, the air, earth, or water is contaminated.

The NCR, itself, has said that the "front end" of the nuclear fuel process presents the greatest, and the most immediate public health hazard.

In exploration, mining, and milling, miners are condemned to silicosis of the lung and to lung cancer. Tons of radioactive tailing piles are heaped onto the land, left to blow dangerously radioactive radon decay particles through the air, onto the soil, and into our lungs.

(NO NUCLEAR NEWS 3/80)

We have the same situation here with storing waste in open ponds.

The Lethal Legacy of a 40-Year Failure

The evidence of 40 years of failure can be found in hundreds of locations scattered around America.

No one knows how much of it there is. No one knows all the places it is stored.

And NO one-numerous claims to the contrary notwithstanding-knows what to do with it.

It is the radioactive waste, a singular catch-all phrase for scores of the most deadly and long lived substances ever manufactured by man.

You can't see the radiation. You can't smell it. You can't taste it. But it is there and it is spreading across the American landscape. And the worst is yet to come. For the era of runaway nuclear-waste production is just beginning, bringing with it the potential for an environmental nightmare without precedent.

(FOREVERMORE: Nuclear Waste in America 11/83)

Decommissioning

Most of the local people assume that the Kerr-McGee plant will be in our area forever. This is not the case. Eventually, the plant will get so "hot" that it will have to be abandoned and cleaned up (decommissioned) before people will ever be allowed to go on the property.

It is our contention that KM has such a poor safety record in other areas that they should be accountable now for their waste disposal and not leave the government to clean up later.

"In 1979, KM estimated the cost of decommissioning the facility at approximately $2,500,000 and KM has committed to make these funds available for decommissioning at the end of the plant life." W.T. Crow, Acting Chief Uranium Fuel Licensing Branch Divsion of Fuel Cycle & Material Safety, MNSS, USNRC, said.

It is our understanding that the NCR has tried to set up guidelines for Nuclear Reactor's to put up a minimum of $100 million for decommissioning. Could it be that the processing plant will be that much easier to clean up?

Oklahoma Health Department

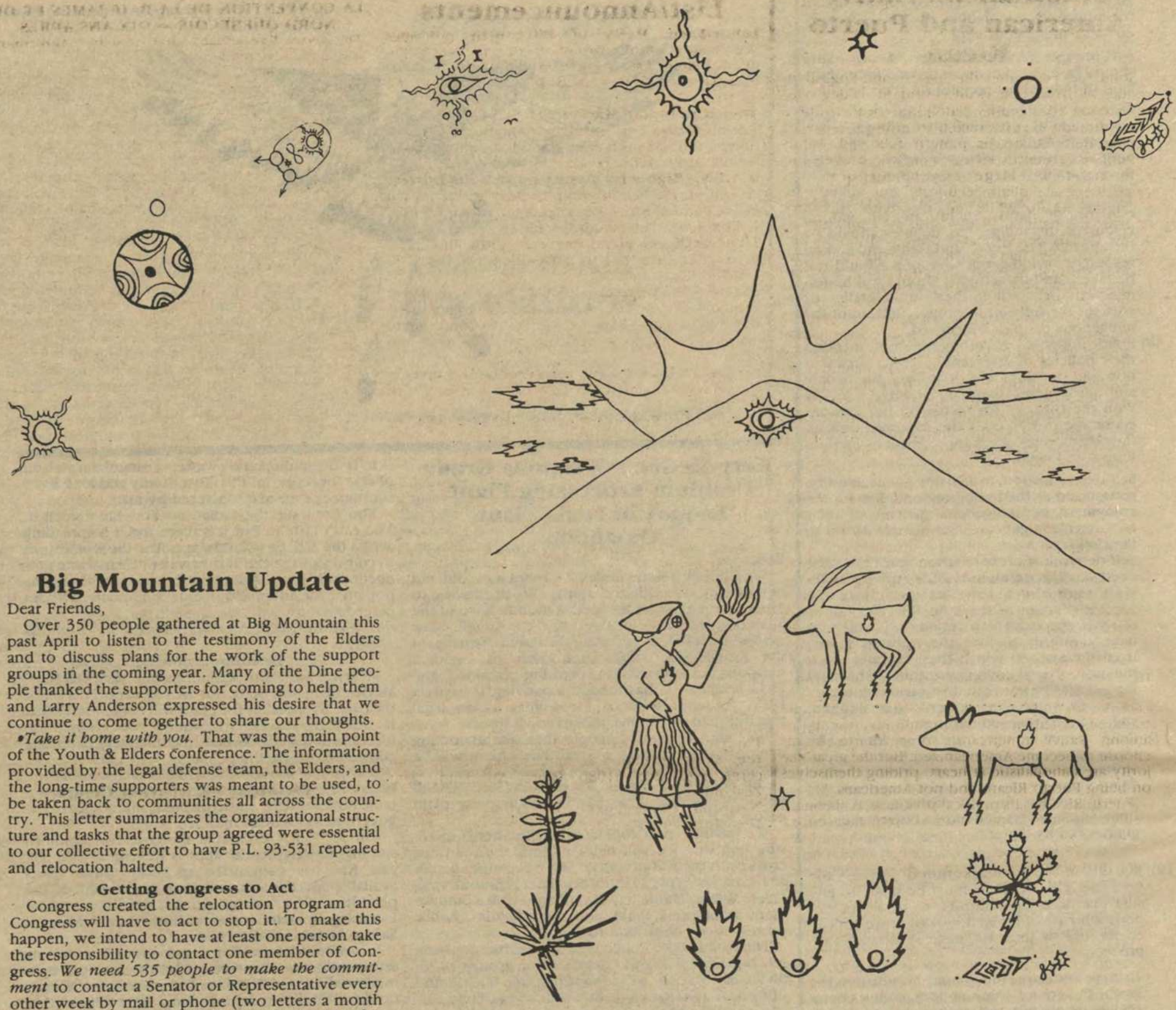
We finally heard back from the health department on the injection well meeting (Nov. 5, 1984) and they assured us that the permit modification activities "would continue as soon as possible. Dr. Fred Walker is putting together a report on their monitoring and it is supposed to be our soon. Ron Barnett of the Sallisaw Office is suppose to make copies available to us as soon as it is our...more reading.

It may seem that the policies of the congress and the president are just off somewhere else and don't affect our everyday life, but this is not the case. The bombs that our President is calling for under the name "Starwars" could very well begin to come into reality in *our* community if KM is granted their license for the new plant. It will also add to their waste production and we cannot look to someone from the outside to come and solve these waste problems for us.

It is up to us to save our community, so tell your friends and relatives that if they want to save the world from nuclear holocost, then they should start by stopping the licensing of another bomb factory. The work of ensuring that Sequoyah Fuels does not furthermore contaminate our land is a time consuming job, but the future generations have the right to hunt, fish, and swim as we have been able to do.

Take time out from your busy life to ensure that your grandchildren "inherit the earth" and do it with a healthy mind & body.

(Source: Native Americans for A Clean Environment Client Council, P.O. Box 212, Marble City, OK 74945. 1-918-773-8184)



Big Mountain Update

Dear Friends,

Over 350 people gathered at Big Mountain this past April to listen to the testimony of the Elders and to discuss plans for the work of the support groups in the coming year. Many of the Dine people thanked the supporters for coming to help them and Larry Anderson expressed his desire that we continue to come together to share our thoughts.

•*Take it home with you.* That was the main point of the Youth & Elders conference. The information provided by the legal defense team, the Elders, and the long-time supporters was meant to be used, to be taken back to communities all across the country. This letter summarizes the organizational structure and tasks that the group agreed were essential to our collective effort to have P.L. 93-531 repealed and relocation halted.

Getting Congress to Act

Congress created the relocation program and Congress will have to act to stop it. To make this happen, we intend to have at least one person take the responsibility to contact one member of Congress. *We need 535 people to make the commitment* to contact a Senator or Representative every other week by mail or phone (two letters a month followed by a phone call). We would also like this contact person to send copies of their correspondence and responses. It would also be helpful if the contact persons in each state communicate with each other, making a concerted effort upon each state delegation. Please contact us if you would like to be one of the 535 people and tell us which Congressman or Senator you are willing to maintain contact with.

Telling the Story of Relocation

Anyone who was at the gathering has many personal experiences that convey what relocation means to the Dine people. There are other means of getting the point across. The Berkeley Support Group has copies of the slide show "In Defense of Sacred Land" for sale or rent, and copies of both the Fall '84 and Spring '85 issues of Big Mountain News (another issue is scheduled for early July). The yellow booklet "Navajos Resist Forced Relocation" is being reprinted and will be available in quantities soon. For more information, contact Berkeley BMSG, 1412 Cypress St., Berkeley, CA 94703. (415) 841-6500.

Support Group Network

There are over a dozen active support groups across the country, and new ones are forming all the time. We would like to see better and more consistent communication between these groups and the Flag office. We will be able to help new groups form and to pass on the successful ideas and activities of individual groups. When the need arises, regional coordinators will take the responsibility of providing support to a cluster of support groups. Together we can make a difference.

Reaching Out

The relocation issue affects every taxpayer and every person of conscience in this country. The plight of the Navajos facing relocation has not gained the same attention as Central American intervention or South African divestment. Relocation is a human rights issue. Relocation is an intervention issue. Relocation is an environmental issue. Relocation is a religious freedom issue. We must work to raise the awareness of Americans across the country. Unlike Central America and South Africa, this atrocity is being perpetrated in our own backyard.

We need to reach out to groups of conscience who are already active in liberation struggles. Many religious and spiritual groups are becoming more active in issues of human rights. Contact groups like the American Friends Service Committee, Witness for Peace, and the Fellowship of Reconciliation, or your local Council of Churches or similar groups. These traditional people are the only obstacle between the energy companies who want to sacrifice the entire Four Corners region for the coal, uranium, oil, natural gas, and other minerals.

There are many ways to bring this issue to public awareness. Write letters to the editor of you local paper, to the politicians who represent you, or to the corporations involved. Invite your friends to a pot luck dinner and show them the slide show, or get together to write letters. When the people lead, the leaders will follow.

Navajos are not alone in facing injustice. Every Indian nation has faced, and many are currently facing, attacks upon their sovereignty. Educate yourself about local Native American issues and involve them in your Big Mountain work. Offer them you assistance. Remember that every bit of this land belonged to native people at one time, the Navajos are lucky enough to still inhabit their land.

If you know of networking groups or computer bulletin boards, inform them about Big Mountain and solicit their help in this nationwide effort to preserve a traditional, self-sufficient culture, Both the Flag office and the Berkeley Support Group have recently been computerized. (Flag is CP/M and Berkeley is Apple.)

Other Forms of Involvement

There are countless ways that someone can involve themselves in the struggles of the Dine people. Personal commitments to fasting, meditation, and prayer can build a spiritual force in support of the traditional Navajos and Hopis who keep the instructions from the Creator for the sacred Four Corners region.

Colonialism: Native American and Puerto Rican

Some 300 years after the Spanish and English invaded the North American continent, taking over lands once occupied by Native Americans, United States armed forces invaded the Caribbean island of Puerto Rico. A similar pattern followed. Lands belonging to Puerto Ricans were taken over, but this time by large sugar corporations, petrochemicals, pharmaceuticals and military installations. Again "white" anglos claimed superiority over the natives, in this case an admixture of Taino Indian, Spanish and Blacks. Although the Spanish invaders had virtually eliminated the Taino Indians through massacres, exploitation, enslavement and disease, traces remain through intermarriage.

Convinced of our "Manifest Destiny" to control this hemisphere, we took over almost complete control of the political, economic and commercial affairs of Puerto Rico. Their government has no authority beyond that which we are willing to grant as non-detrimental to our own interests.

Greed for further occupation and control has led to a program of genocide similar to that practiced against Native Americans. 40% of the women of child-bearing age have been sterilized. Reduction of the population is particularly noticeable in Central Puerto Rico, where Amax and Kennocott are purchasing land for strip mining. The "2020 Plan" envisions a complete encirclement of Puerto Roco with industrial parks/military installations. As a result of economic exploitation and close to 40% unemployment, thousands of Puerto Ricans have been forced to immigrate into slum areas of New York and Chicago.

In an effort towards cultural genocide, our government has tried to compel the teaching of school subjects in English. This has been strongly resisted, but the curriculum still slants predominantly towards American history and culture. Instruction in Puerto Rican culture and traditions is left mostly to private institutions. As among Native Americans, some Puerto Ricans choose to become Americanized. But the great majority are nationalistic at heart, priding themselves on being Puerto Ricans and not Americans.

Puerto Rico has its political prisoners. As Leonard Peltier has been harassed and falsely accused, so Carlos Noya, Maria Cueto and others have been called before the Federal Grand Jury. Upon refusing to answer they have been convicted of criminal contempt and imprisoned. The FBI considers the independence movement one of the greatest threats to our country and has declared its intention of arresting "potential terrorists." Obviously anyone active in labor organizing or in efforts towards national liberation is suspect. The Decolonization Committee of the United States has deplored such harassment. Within Puerto Rico a Committee Against Repression (CUCRE) has been formed. At present there are 26 Puerto Rican political prisoners, six of whom are Grand Jury resisters and have committed no violence.

Puerto Rico has had its assassinations and masssacres. It is widely accepted that Angel Rodriguez was beaten to death by a guard at Tallahassee Prison despite prison assertion that he hanged himself. An unarmed procession of Nationalists on Palm Sunday of 1937 brought on the "Ponce Massacre" in which twenty-one were killed and over a hundred wounded.

Puerto Rico has suffered the attempted destruction of an entire community — that of Villa Sin Miedo. This "land rescue" settlement on government land proved to be a threat to a government pursuing a policy of subjugation through paternalistic aid rather than that of economic independence and self-sufficiency. As a result over 200 families were forced to evacuate their community, their homes and possessions reduced to ashes, their gardens bulldozed. Rescued by the Episcopal Church, they survived long enough to purchase fifty acres of communal land where they can again grow their own food and develop skills and crafts.

Also struggling for economic independence and survival are the people of Vieques, living on a small island off the coast of Puerto Rico. Once able to supply their needs from rich vegetation and an abundance of fish, they lost ¾ of their land to the United States Navy. Their agriculture and grazing lands reduced, fish killed, nets destroyed, they are now about 80% dependent on food stamps. The fishermen rebel by occasionally surrounding our battleships with their tiny fishing boats and doing all they can to hinder our naval activities.

The latest atrocity is the announced intention of the United States to place nuclear weapons on Puerto Rican military bases. This is in direct violation of the Tlatelolco Treaty for a nuclear-free Latin America...

Native Americans suffer from colonialism as does Puerto Rico. And as the United Nations Decolonization Committee seeks to liberate all colonies, so does the United Nations "Working Group on Indigenous Populations" seek to liberate enslaved peoples here and abroad. The day will come when all peoples will be free to find their own identity, live their own traditions, foster their own culture, take pride in their native languages. International law will be recognized in support of self-determination for all peoples having traditions, history and language in common as do Native Americans and Puerto Ricans. Minorities will be given equal justice within the legal system and equal protection of the law.

Native Americans and Puerto Ricans are engaged in the same struggle for liberation and hopefully can give each other mutual understanding and support. Akwesasne Notes reports in an April 22, 1982 letter from the New York "Black and Puerto Rican Legislative Caucus" their opposition to the "Ancient Indian Land Claims Settlement Act". This sort of cooperation can work in mutual support of human rights.

The immediate needs of Puerto Rico are additional sponsorship for the Dellums Bill to Return the Powers to Puerto Rico; open discussion in the United Nations General Assembly of the Decolonization Committee resolutions for the Independence of Puerto Rico; and help towards reestablishing the community of Villa Sin Miedo.

Submitted by Jean Zwickel, 2150 Goff Ave., Pittsburg, CA 94565.

List/Announcements

Labor-Farm Party of Wisconsin publishes Wisconsin Commonwealth. Page one has article titled: Defend Treaty Rights. And they do mean Indian Treaties. LFP, P.O. Box 1222, Madison WI 53701.

American Indian Market, Oct. 4,5,6, Nov. 1,2,3. The Showcase For The Native American. Caravan Travel Inn, 3333 E Van Buren St. Phoenix AZ 85008. Arts, Crafts, Food, Dancing.

R.A.I.N. (Rights for American Indians Now) is an educational/action group to support traditional native culture. RAIN, Renseler county Chapter, RD. 1, Box 308A, Petersburg NY 12138.

The North American Peace Pagoda, Buddhists for world peace. Nipponzan Myohoji, 100 Cave Hill Road, Leverett, MA 01054.

Native Seeds/Search, 3950 W. New York Drive, Tuscon AZ 85745. A non-profit Organization devoted to native desert resources, to conserve by learning about growing plants of the sierras and deserts.

American Indian Law: Research and Sources. The Hayworth Press, 28 East 22nd st. New York NY 10010.

West Point Peace Action, Saturday, November 23, 1985. To Demonstrate against U.S. militarism and intervention in Central America. West Point Peace Action, P.O. Box 552, Nyack NY 10960.

Global Village. For international development. Third World issues, Peace. Write; Global Village, 201-259 Pine Street, Nanaimo, British Columbia, Canada V9R 2B7.

Native Writers and Storytellers. Canadian Fiction Magazine is planning to publish a Canadian Native issue. Indian, Inuit, and Metis writers are a asked to submit short fiction and stories. Deadline February 15, 1986. Tom King, Native American Studies Dept. The University of Lethbridge, Lethbridge, Alberta, Canada T1K 3M4.

American Indian Heritage Week, November 25, 1985. All kinds of events: one titled Celebrity & Indian Entertainment (Makes you wonder) American Indian Heritage Foundation, 6051 Arlington Blvd. Falls Church VA 22044.

Pacific Peoples Anti-Nuclear Action Committee. Constant action & updates on Pacific concerns. P.O. Box 61086, Otara, Auckland, New Zealand.

National Conference on Indian Economic Development, October 29-31, to cover all phases. Write: Tribal Ventures, Inc. 200 N. Glebe Road, Arlington, VA 22203. Chuck Trimble (703)-528-1200.

Sixth Annual Ecological Farming Conference. From Organic Soil fertility, seed production, aquaculture to Permaculture. Write; Steering Committee for Sustainable Agriculture, P.O. Box 1394, Davis CA 95617 (961)-753-1054.

Dear Editor: of Akwesasne Notes, Why don't you ever list our books and tapes? (Cause this is the first time I heard of you. Ed.) Books, Plays, Songs. Write: SKY MAHKPEYA, Box 18434, Denver CO 80218½

Ninth Inter-American Indian Congress. October 28-November 1, 1985 P.O. Box 519 Sante Fe NM 87504-0519.

The NICA Scholarship Fund. Five week programs on intensive Spanish-language classes, Family living, community work and seminars with Nicaraguan leaders. Contact: NICA-Nuevo Instituto de Centro America, P.O. Box 1409, Cambridge MA 02238. Also NICA, Apartado 50, Esteli, Nicaragua, Central America.

LA CONVENTION DE LA BAIE JAMES ET DU NORD QUEBECOIS — DIX ANS APRES

The James Bay and Northern Quebec Agreement was signed November 11, 1975.

Ten years later, 'la Societe de recherches amerindiennes au Quebec' (The Society of Amerindian Research in Quebec) is holding a forum on the genesis and application of the James Bay and Northern Quebec Agreement.

Discussion will be centred on three major themes and will evolve in three successive workshops:

1. **Genesis of the Agreement —** Recap of outstanding events — The role of the courts in the evolution of the James Bay hydroelectric project — The stakes in negotiations — Article on extinquishment of aboriginal rights.
2. **Implementation of the Agreement —** The nature and extent of implementation of the Agreement — costs of implementing the Agreement — Respect of Article 2.14 of the Agreement — The hunting, fishing and trapping programme — The Agreement: a tool of emancipation or subjection; the case of the Kativik regional administration — The environmental protection programme — Police services — Health services — Successful application of the Agreement: a debate.
3. **Review and prognosis —** Native society versus Quebec society — The lessons of the Agreement — Native rights and territoriality: the stakes and current debate — The Agreement in the context of the Native self-determination movement in Canada.

The forum on **La Convention de la Baie James et du Nord Quebecoiis, dix ans apres** is addressed to all those interested in the social changes wrought by government intervention in the development of the North and the reaction of the communities undergoing them.

Novemer 14 and 15, 1985, Hotel du Parc, Montreal.

For further information: La Convention de la Baie James et du Nord, quebecois — dix ans apres, 6200 rue de Saint-Vallier, Montreal (Quebec) Canada, H2S 2P5, (514) 277-6178.

Tropical Rainforest Crisis: Organizing Conference

On November 15-17, 1985, Friends of the Earth and other groups will convene a three day organizing conference near San Francisco, California, on the tropical rainforest crisis. We hope that you or the most appropriate representative from your organization will be able to attend. We are looking for organizers or community activists who work directly on tropical rainforest protection or who are developing a program related to the issue.

The scope of the problem requires action on many fronts. Thus, the main thrust of the conference will be to sew together a broad-based coalition of groups, develop a comprehensive grassroots strategy, and plan future international organizing. If the organizers in tropical rainforest countries are supported and backed by concerted pressure on western consumers, corporations, and governments we can stop the non-sustainable development and foster sustainable forest practices and sound management.

We have invited organizations from a number of tropical rainforest regions as well as representatives from other organizations and networks such as the Native Americans who work with rainforest Indians, Pesticide Action Network, median consultants, and U.S.-based organizers who travel and work with groups in rainforest countries.

Sincerely Randall Hayes, Conference Coordinator

Source: Friends of the Earth, 1045 Sansome Street, San Francisco, California 94111, (415) 433-7373.

The Indigenous Womens Network Gathering:
A Meeting of Spirits and a Healing

©Winona LaDuke/85

"When those men start to go to the moon, then you will see more and more changes. It is when they go to the moon, and leave something there, they will disrupt the creation. The women will start to wake up, to rise up then, because they feel that disruption of that power...."

Thomas Banyaca, at the NetworkGathering

Over 200 Native women organizers from the continent and Pacific came together at the Indigenous Womens Gathering, at Yelm, Washington, August 27-31, 1985. The event was hosted by the Northwest Indian Womens Circle, and catalyzed by the organizing and visions of the coalition of women developing the Indigenous Womens Network. The event was surrounded with a feeling of empowerment, support, and sharing, as native women - many of them organizers, and most of whom work in isolated rural/reservation communities had the opportunity to share, see the work, hear the ideas, and join with other women from across the country.

Each day included several "talking circles", with the facilitators and resource people encouraging and guiding discussions on subjects from "Avoiding Burnout", and "Setting up a Legal Defense Team." The first day included a Talking Circle on Defending and Defining our Physical, Mental and Emotional Wellbeing, as well as looking at the Impacts of Sexism and Racism on the Native women. Each day, the meeting/circle would expand to cover a larger area, until on the final days, the subjects of Land Rights, Organizing, Economic Planning and Fiscal Planning for reservation communities, Litigation, and other areas were the focal point for discussion. Most of the people found that this "concentric circle" build up - from the women as an individual, to the family, to the community, and finally to our nations, was powerful, as each day built on the last, and we had a chance to talk about all of our issues.

Our communities need a wholistic healing - from the internalized oppression of men and women, to the disruption of our natural and treaty law systems that protect our peoples and land. We are whole human beings, full of the celebration of life, the pains of struggle and oppressions, a love for each other, and the fears of failing our future generations. We are all as multifaceted as are the problems we work to overcome. And, the women who came to the Network Gatherings were facets of all the parts of our communities, and all working to better our lives.

This wholistic approach became clear in the Gathering itself, which is one reason why it is impossible to write a "review" of the gathering. In itself, the Gathering was seen only as a catalyst for furthering and enabling this networking between Native women - many of whom work in isolated areas, and many of whom, face the feelings of "I am the only one out here doing this work,". So the Gathering itself is just part of a growing thing in our communities, and, no one really felt it could be separated from the evolution in our communities themselves.

There were, however, some pretty amazing things that happened at this Gathering. A lot of women came together who would not have seen each other under other circumstances. Many of us had the chance to visit with and listen to role models in our communities, when at other "meetings" they would not always be the ones speaking up. For instance here, we had a chance to listen to Susanna Oneui, a representative of the New Caledonian Liberation Movement - a people of the south Pacific who are currently fighting to reclaim their lands from the French, and the French colonists who remain on the islands. Tululah Pinkham, an elder from the Nisqually nation talked about traditional values and their relationship to our lives, how we have lost touch with different things, and how we are moving back towards our traditions. Roberta Blackgoat and Violet Ashkie talked about how a younger generation of people was leaving the land, leaving some of the traditions yet some were coming back. This continuity - they explained is essential in holding on to the land, and the values of the land. Since both women are from Big Mountain, and have been fighting relocation, their words both could guide us in living our day to day lives, and help up in strategizing to reclaim and retain our lands.

Other women who spoke included those working on rebuilding our traditional economic systems, from Elizabeth Garrett a woman from Rosebud reservation, who is working on traditional agricultural methods, and "rammed earth" housing (traditional housing), to Rebecca Adamson, who is working nationally to help various Indian nations regain control over their economic systems on the reservation, and build enterprises to increase the economic power of the communities.

A number of women talked about land struggles, and from all kinds of perspectives. There were women like Margaret Brigham, who does research in different communities. She talked about researching as it could be used in strategies for land struggles, to increase the information that Indian communities use in decision making. As she pointed out, "Decision making usually ends up under the control of non-Indians due to the control of the written word...Disagreements over proposed actions in Indian communities usually surface as a split between the traditional versus modern factions. Non-Indians, especially the media, delight in this kind of controversy." Her work has been in increasing the information and the basis for decision making. Women from Hawaii talked about the militarization of their lands, the taking of Hawaiian lands, and the legal and colonial problems facing the Hawaiian community.

Many of the women talked about different problems in organizing. Whether it was at the beginning to a community understanding an issue - how people were often afraid to do anything about it, or thought that we didn't have any power to change things. How did different organizers move in a community to help overcome this tumbling block? Some people talked about working with existing community groups, other women talked about working door to door, others talked about how they had taken an issue repeatedly to the Tribal Council - some of them had success, others had run into a brick wall. We talked about ways to influence the decisionmaking, and ways to strengthen the descision making and who would make these decision in our communities.

How Did This Come About?

The Network came from many different native women who have worked in our communities seeing the need to encourage other women, network, and share ideas and skills. Many of these women are organizers in communities across the country, and would only see each other at a meeting, a conference sponsored by non-Indians, or something else. We felt that we all gained greater strength and felt inspired having an opportunity to be together, and saw that it was important enough to us to have this gathering - ON OUR OWN AGENDA, (instead of someone else's meeting, and a few scattered moments), and bring other women together to facilitate this networking and sharing. The statement of purpose for the Network states:

"...for many years we have worked within our communities as grassroots women activists. We have fought for sovereignty, land, human and civil rights. We have worked to change educational, health environment and institutions for the betterment of our people. As indigenous women we have personally struggled against overpowering forces - Indian women are abused, mistreated, battered, sterilized, and are victims of institutional racism and poverty in double doses as women and as Native Americans. Indian women by the thousands are weeping at night in despair at the condition of our families and communities. We are compelled to address the problems that confront us. We have united to share with one another our skills and to support each other for the basic survival of our people. Our underlying framework is to work within the visions of our elders, as we apply indigenous values to resolve contemporary problems..."

To fulfill this vision, nine women came together to work on the logistics of this gathering. The women formed a "planning circle" but all work in different communites, on different issues and have different constituents. We organized for around a year to bring off the gathering, and saw the event as a catalyst for other work in the communities.

As the year moved on, more and more women became interested in the meeting, and discussion of the role of the Network in the community came about. For example, in some communities, when we were organizing for the gathering there was a "concern" that this was a "womens liberation" movement. Some of the women organizers came up against the attitude that we were trying to separate out from the men, and instead that we should be trying to keep our communities together. "There aren't enough of us to be making divisions", is what some people were saying. At the planning circle, we talked through these issues all along, because of the women who were involved are interested in healing our communities, and uniting our communities, not dividing them.

As our discussions went along, we brought out continuously, that this was work "within the visions of our elders". In other words, none of us felt that this was a "new thing", or something that we had learned from the womens movement. We felt that this was a natural part of the growth in our communities. Women have always been encouraged to work together in sisterhood societies, and other womens circles" in our communities; and we felt the network, as an INFORMAL group of women was a reflection of this. Besides, some of us would say, to those who brought this issue up repeatedly - "Trust Us A Little", after all, we are from the community, and women don't just get together to gossip.

The Gathering in itself was made possible by the support of our communities and families. Most notably, the McCloud family, who hosted the gathering, including Janet and Don McCloud's sons - Jeff and Don Jr. who cooked up smoked salmon for us, and other delicacies. Other great support came from funders including the Threshold Foundation, Sophia Fund, Ann Roberts, Jean Hardisty, American Lutheran Church, private donors from Minneapolis, as well as the Seventh Generation Fund.

Where Are We Going?

The Gathering was a catalyst, it created the environment and support for networking and sharing between these women. We felt that people could take it from here, and decide what to do with it. Some of the things that have happened from the gathering, and Network, included, a large delegation of Native women who attended the Nairobi Conference o the Status of Women, a slide show we are planning on the Gathering, Native Women's Project - ie: what some of these women are doing in their communities, that we can use in other communities, and some more information including a resource directory and radio programs featuring some of the people at the Gathering.

The word is that other Native women, particularly the delegation of over 20 women from the Haida, and other nations (in what is now known as British Columbia) are now looking to have a gathering in May of 1986. There will be others undoubtedly. There is no formal organziation, membership, or strict goals. We have just started up this circle and there is plenty of room to join in. But for those who have joined already, we feel stronger, and inspired by the company we have had and the incredible experience we shared.

END

(Note, this is just my interpretation of some of what happened at the Gathering. Since I was running around a lot of the time, I couldn't give a true report on a lot of things, just my own perspective. I hope that people who are interested will await the resource directory and future articles and information that do more justice to it.)

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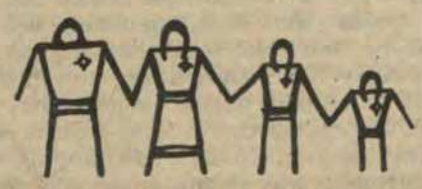

Book Reviews

"THE INFESTED BLANKET, Canada's Constitution — Genocide of Indian Nations" by Eric Robinson and Henry Bird Quinney. Queenston House Publishing Co. Ltd. 1584 Erin Street, Winnipeg, Manitoba

An agonizing dilemma exists on Turtle Island -the Indians' sacred name for the North American continent. This dilemma is exposed to full view by the Indian authors, who give their visceral feelings about the direction their destiny is taking. Robinson and Quinney, who are deeply concerned about their people's plight, demonstrate honestly and caringly how the Indian Nations are struggling to ensure the security of future Indian people, not yet born. As one reads, one senses clearly that the voices expressing themselves in hard-hitting prose come from two tribesmen who are proud of their Indianness and will make any sacrifice to retain it.

The excursion through this throbbing dissertation brings attention to the frequent repetition of key words and phases. This is not coincidental to the purposes of the writing. Oftimes, for example, the use of the word "genocide" commands one's attention. The intent is to create awareness of the perennial threat to Indian peoples that is imposed by an arrogant dominant society. The authors dread this phenomenon, seeing it and feeling it every day. This book has an instructional function that is very capable of captivating an earnest reader.

The Indian writers describe thoroughly and competently the nature of the basic conflict between Indian nations and the immigrant population who have arrived on Turtle Island. It is the conflict of Indian concepts and values in opposition to the laws and policies of federal and provincial governments which are forever seeking to impose their jurisdiction over that of the Indian Nations. Canadian society seems incapable of accepting the reality that Indian laws, for example, existed for untold centuries and are still credible today. In the minds of Indians, this is not strange romanticism; it is the valid reality of human history on this continent.

The gross misunderstanding that exists between the two groups - Indian Nations and Canada, and the high level of political tension that was aroused during the federal-provincial-Indian constitutional talks that occurred from 1983-85, point to the fact the "white man's burden" kind of thinking still has a powerful impact on Indians today. The incensed authors decry the fact that Canada - a juvenile nation in the world of nations, behaves generally like a colonial master in dealing with the indigenous peoples. They make a pronouncement that the drive for assimilation stems from the pangs of bad conscience in white society - an attempt to shed the shameful colonialist oppression that has been around for nearly five centuries.

Robinson and Quinney are advancing the distinct viewpoints of the Coalition of First Nations - an alliance that is determined to assert their sovereignty in spite of all efforts of successive federal governments to subdue them. They boldly and explicitly describe and interpret the international law that confers sovereignty upon themselves. They suggest that all Indian Nations, many of which are less articulate and audacious, share their sovereignty precepts. Irrespective of the literary thunder produced by these two Indian spokesmen, always the qualities of faithfulness and patience - two astounding virtues of Indians, come through loud and clear.

As clearly demonstrated by the crusading authors, the bedrock of Treaty and Aboriginal Rights in the treaties, a reality to which the dominant society and all its political and bureaucratic hierarchies pay utter lip service, while at the same time covertly trying to eradicate these sacred agreements. These two interpreters of Indian rights tell how their people have found moral support in the United Nations, especially in Geneva, Switzerland, where an expert panel called the "Working Group on Indigenous Peoples" listens to their grievances about innumerable violations of the treaties. That panel has said that indigenous peoples are unique entities that have the institutional trappings of distinct, often little nations. Contrary to what officials high in the Canadian government believe, these peoples are not just ethnic minorities or exotic cultural groups.

A strong theme in the book maintains that treaties are valid, nation-to-nation agreements that are binding right up till today. It says that these treaties have "international status," and the Canadian government must stop down-playing their significance and cease trying to unilaterally break them. Robinson and Quinney accuse the Government of Canada of side-stepping their sacred trust role in upholding the treaties and the many obligations that are enunciated in them. They make a strong emotionally tinged, rational appeal to "white" society to develop an interest in respecting and honouring their treaties. To support the veracity of the treaties, the testimony of distinguished, still alive Indian elders is profusely illustrated to corroborate key points in their presentations. Typical of such testimony is the following: "The commissioner assured that the things which he was promising would last forever. He swore that 'the Treaty will never be broken unless you break it yourselves,' that 'there was no white man with two legs that could ever break the Treaty.' "

Early in "The Infested Blanket," the writers draw vivid connections between the abject poverty conditions of citizens of almost all Indian Nations in Canada, citing that it is the result of unending economic exploitation and political oppression. They say that what is most painful for the Indian citizens is the so readily visible double standard of the federal and provincial governments in dealing with them - the shocking hypocrisy that permeates most official dealings with the leaders of the Indian Nations. They present a long train of evidence derived from three First Ministers' Conferences on Aboriginal Rights in the Constitution of Canada, where almost all of the provincial premiers - orchestrated by prime ministers, have jockeyed politically on national television to protect their long-standing vested economic interests. They implore Canada to purify their "infested blanket," and start honouring its true obligations to the Indian people; economically, that will require that the "haves" share honestly and generously with the "have-nots," who have been denied access to their own national resource base because of the incessant greed of the immigrant population. The authors persistently lecture the reader about the dire necessity for the dominant society to begin showing real fidelity and respect for international law, the keystone of the Treaty and Aboriginal Rights.

The predominant thesis throughout the book is the Indian Nations' inherent right to self-determination. There is ample legitimate evidence presented to show that, according to United Nations covenants, that right has international support. Reference is made to Article 1 of the U.N. International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, to which Canada is a signatory. That covenant confers on indigenous nations the unquestionable right of self-determination but, as evidenced in the behaviour of Canada in the Section 37 (2) constitutional process, Canada persists in treating bona fide Indian Nations as cultural minorities.

The Coalition of First Nations, to which the authors belong, do not recognize the Canadian constitution as a legal, legitimate instrument of law. The course of political events, particularly during the past five years, has convinced them that the highly vaunted constitution's provisions on treaty and aboriginal rights have been framed insidiously to suppress Indians, rather than to liberate them from oppression. To them, the Charter of Rights becomes a mockery of social justice. To add credibility to their verbal onslaught on the constitutional process, they attack the Assembly of First Nations and its leadership - not to discredit the status Indians who have been elected to steer that political ship - but to demonstrate the lengths to which government ministers and lesser officials have gone to use cold cash to manipulate the Indian people in any situation where the tiniest opening presents itself. Like typical colonial governors of past centuries they entice keen leaders, attempting to undermine their allegiance to their people, so as to preserve vested economic interests - the classic "divide and conquer" syndrome.

In so many different ways, the writers charge that the current constitutional crisis, as it relates to the Indian Nations, was perpetrated by the Government of Canada, not by the Indian peoples. Faced with naked machinations of politics that have stemmed from that crisis, Treaty Indian Nations have asserted their sovereignty more strongly than ever before. They have said that not one iota of their sovereignty was relinquished in the treaty-making process. They have maintained fervently that Indian Nations today are not within confederation, while the Canadian federal system dictates that they are. Robinson and Quinney argue repeatedly that Indian law, with its deeply imbedded spirituality, has precedence over the Canadian constitution and the bodies of federal and provincial law. So it follows that Indian Nations have the exclusive right to determine their own citizenship - the crux of the political chasm that developed between Parliament and Indian Nations on the "sex discrimination in the Indian Act" issue.

Shooting verbal arrows with incredible accuracy, the authors demonstrate how the federal and provincial governments are totally committed to the multi-lateral discussion process in the arena of constitutional renewal - the hotly debated Section 37 (2) "identification and definition of Treaty and Aboriginal Rights" mechanism, which has proven virtually totally ineffective in three rounds of high level talks. Coalition of First Nations leaders, supported by practically all other Indian chieftains, have been adamant that Canada enter into a clear-cut bilateral process to clarify their comprehensive rights, free of the constant gerrymandering which most of the provincial premiers are so effective in carrying out. But Canada falters when faced with this strong overture of dire necessity, recognizing at once by political astuteness, that involvement in the bilateral process could force compliance with the Indian treaties and many inherent rights.

Canadian politicians are seen as inflexible, even incorrigible in coming to grips with the valid rights of Treaty Indians - contaminated by the inocuous effects of their own "infested blanket." Faced with this reality, the Indian Nations are convinced that efforts to secure international support in their struggle must be escalated. There appears to be no other means to ensure survival as First Nation entities. But past experiences in Geneva and New York City has shown that every time the Indian Nations appear before U.N. commissions to voice their grievances - to relate the sad tales of oppression, a vast entrouage of politically oriented Canadian officials appears on the scene to say, in the most contemptible colonial and paternalistic language, "These Indians know not of what they speak." So the "might makes right" syndrome that reflects the superiority feelings of the dominant society in Canada prevails.

Any Canadian who wants to discover the content of the fine print of Indian issues, should invest in this book. For those who want sincerely to read between the lines and understand the true nature of the conflict between the Indian Nations and the Government of Canada, it would be worthwhile to sleep for awhile under the "infested blanket" which Robinson and Quinney so aptly describe.

Roy L. Piepenburg

(Mr. Piepenburg is at present a researcher and consultant at the Indian Association of Alberta, where he has worked a total of over nine years since 1970. He also has worked for twenty years as an educator and administrator in Indian-related work with the governments of Canada and the United States and the Province of Alberta. he is currently completing a novel on Indian activism entitled "Celestine."

Solidarity Publications

For Immediate Release

Solidarity Education Publications is pleased to announce the publication of a new book on the situation of Salvadoran refugees, *Forced To Move* by Renato Camarda. (102 pp., $9.75, ISBN 0-942638!11-5)

Over 20,000 refugees, forced to flee their homes in El Salvador by government repression and civil war, live in camps along the border in Honduras. Former Pacifica Radio correspondent Renato Camarda spent a year in the camps, living with the refugees and documenting their experiences. Through the first-hand testimonies of the refugees and relief workers in the camps, *Forced To Move* draws a direct, in-depth and moving portrait of the refugees' lives and the political forces in the region that have caused such a massive dislocation of the civilian population.

Forced To Move is an important primary resource for those seeking to understand the human cost of U.S. policies in the Central American region. It is also an invaluable source document for the growing refugee Sanctuary movement that is responding to the needs of refugees in the United States.

The refugees' testimonies are supplemented by their poems and their childrens' drawings, as well as 85 photographs, excerpts from official statements and reports, a detailed chronology of the crisis, and an Introduction by Congressman Ron Dellums.

(For information contact: David Loeb (415) 626-6626, Solidarity Publications, P.O. Box 40874, San Francisco, California 94140.)

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MOHAWK POSITION PAPER
Continued from Page 10

recognize Indian border rights. Yet Canada recognizes the other sections of the treaty.

The Mohawks have always exercised the right to cross that border. We continue to do so today. Indeed our people have continued the custom and tradition of leaving the village to pursue an economy. In the past it was the fur trade, today it is the high steel work. As a result of our exercise of this right and our agressive pursuit of economic opportunity, the Mohawks have had a standard of living above the welfare state to which most reserves have been designated.

Through hard work and determination we will lift the impediments that have been placed in our path in our pursuit of regaining our economic self-sufficiency and the exercising of all our inherit rights as the Mohawk Nation.

Short Notes

CANADA

Government Winks at Arms Deals With Dictators

MONTREAL — Guidelines established by the Canadian government in 1978 prohibit the export of military goods to countries whose governments have used or might use such equipment against civilian populations. Nevertheless, in the past year, Canadian firms have sold more than $163 million worth of military merchandise to states such as Chile, the Philippines, Taiwan, South Korea and Paraguay.

It is the recent flurry of military exports to Chile that has most highlighted the government's hypocrisy. On one hand, Ottawa publicly expresses revulsion at the practices of the Pinochet dictatorship; at the same time, it allows the export of military equipment to that regime. In fact, one of the companies involved in the Chile deal is owned outright by the government.

Documents obtained under the Access to Information Act show that the Conservative administration of Prime Minister Brian Mulroney has allowed a wide range of military equipment to be exported to Chile: armoured jackets, face shields, spare parts for tanks and aircraft, navigation and radar equipment and aircraft engines. In the case of the sale of armored jackets and face shields to the Chilean National Police by an Ottawa company, External Affairs Minister Joe Clark explained how the government arrived at its decision: "There were not significant national security or foreign policy concerns which would preclude the issuance of a permit. The view of the government has been that the use of these suits does not pose any threat to civilian populations."

Sales of military goods to Chile had been approved under the previous Liberal administration. However, since the Conservatives came to power in the fall of 1984, Canadian companies have been given the green light to accelerate trade (so far worth about $11 million) with the Chilean armed forces and national police.

(by Irwin Pollock, Sept. 11, 1985 The Guardian, 33 W. 17th St., New York, NY 10011)

Lake Superior Green Party

On his birthday on July 4th, 1985, Walt Bresette, Red Cliff Band, Ojibway activist declared his "independence from the 2 party system." Subsequently he and his wife Cass Joy invited friends and activists from Northern Wisconsin to come to a "green party" on the shores of Lake Superior on August 11th.

Walt is by trade an artist and communicator, having worked with WOJB radio for years. Now he works for the Great Lakes Indian Fish and Wildlife Commission serving 10 tribes in 3 states.

Why has Bresette, who in the past has worked with activists in the Democratic party, chosen to join independent politics? He says it is "incredulous to me that the Democratic party allows David Obey to use the Indian scare in his campaign. It is really a few people, like Obey's aides who run the Democratic Party. The major parties have no mechanisms to manage their people, their public officials."

"I've had Democratic Party officials wanted to meet with me but saying they can't be seen in public with me. During this wave of anti-Indian sentiment, they don't want to be seen with any Indian person."

In most years in the recent past, the Wisconsin Democratic Party adopted a platform plank endorsing Indian treaty rights. *But not this year.* This year such a plank did not even make it out of committees to the convention floor. And the Republican Party actually endorsed an anti-treaty rights plank.

Bresette invites progressive groups and individuals from around the State to work with him and with Indian tribes in a political coalition to protect the Northwest Wisconsin Region and it's environment. Jobs and economics are integral to that struggle.

"I prefer to work for alternative employment opportunities, not just anti-mining and anti-pollution."

Walt Bresette and Cass Joy have two children and make plans for children and friends when they plan a **green party.**

For further information contact Walt Bresette, Great Lakes Indian Fish & Wildlife Commission, P.O. Box 9, Odanah, WI 54861. (715) 682-6619

NORWAY

Organizing Central America Peace Walks

OSLO, Norway — A peace march planned through Central America beginning in December is sparking enthusiasm among activists here and in several other countries.

The ambitious 1200 mile trek is being planned from the small headquarters of the Peace Office in downtown Oslo. T-shirts emblazoned with a 4-colored dove are stacked next to brochures, buttons and posters in three languages. A worker adds another name on the list of committees organizing for the march: St. Louis, the fifth now established in the U.S.

Committees are also underway in Norway, Denmark, Finland, Sweden, Britain, Spain, Italy, Australia and Canada. Others are just getting going in half a dozen other West European countries and individual delegates are planning to travel to Central America from several nations. Socialist states have not been asked to participate because organizers view the problems of Central America as the result of North-South inequities, not East-West conflicts.

Marches will assemble Dec. 10, International Human Rights Day, in Panama City and be addressed by an official from one of the four Contadora countries. A final rally will take place in Mexico City Jan. 22, before a delegation travels to Washington, D.C. to issue reports and proposals for peace and justice.

The march's objectives are to hinder a U.S. invasion of the region, highlight government-military abuse of human rights, encourage self-determined efforts, support the peace initiative of the Contadora group, and sow solidarity between peoples of the "first world" and the third world. Organizers also aim to connect the issues of world peace with national liberation struggles.

Preparatory committees are now at work in Panama, Costa Rica, Nicaragua, Honduras and El Salvador. In Guatemala, the archbishop may receive the marchers. These committees are arranging sleeping accommodations and transportation through areas not conducive to walking.

For information on U.S. efforts, contact Office of the Americas, 1227 Fourth St., Santa Monica, CA., 90401 (tel.: 213-451-2428). The international office in Norway is at Rosenkrantzgaten 18, Oslo 1.

(By Ron Ridenour, The Guardian, September 11, 1985)

Nicaragua Health

Nicaraguan health clinics, schools and other social service centers have been singled out for destruction by U.S.-backed "contras" seeking to overthrow the Sandinista government, according to a report released this week by a group of U.S. doctors who have visited Nicaragua with recent delegations.

The report claims that it is the contras' "policy" to attack "health facilities and social services finally enjoyed by the rural poor." Their report, "Health and the War Against Nicaragua, 1981-1984," states that since 1981 contra attack have destroyed 63 health units, 50 schools, 125 social service centers and two million dollars worth of medical equipment.

The contras, 4,760 of whom have died, have killed 2,812 Nicaraguans, including 70 health workers, 170 teachers, 134 children under 12 and 436 rural farmers. In addition, 3,740 Nicaraguan civilians are reported to have been kidnapped by the contras.

The report was issued by the Central America Health Rights Network, a coalition of 50 organizations based at medical centers throughout the United States. Much of the information for the report comes from a delegation sponsored by the American Medical Students Association and a colloquium of U.S. and Nicaraguan health professionals which was held in Managua last Fall. Other sources include *The American Journal of Public Health, The New England Journal of Medicine* and the Nicaraguan Ministry of Health.

According to the group, the kidnapping, torture, rape and murder of health workers and teachers is a tactic the contras use to intimidate both the providers and the recipients of crucial services.

As a result of threats from the contras, health providers in remote areas must now hide their literature and bury their supplies to avoid attracting attention. Eight hundred adult education centers have been closed, the construction of 2,000 rural homes has been halted, and 140,000 Nicaraguans have been made refugees. In one neighborhood in Managua, 25 percent of all mental patients suffer from war-related depression, often due to the loss of a family member.

After a French and a German doctor were killed in early 1983, all foreign health professionals working in war zones were reassigned to safer areas. In January 1985, four health workers arriving in an Atlantic coast island-village to carry out a vaccination campaign were kidnapped. Predictably, residents of war zones experience an increased incidence of diarrhea, malnutrition and malaria.

Despite the contras' efforts, Nicaragua has made great strides in health care over the past five years. The portion of the population with access to modern health care has risen from 28 percent to more than 80 percent. Infant mortality has fallen from 121 to 73 per 1,000 live births. Measles and rabies have nearly disappeared, and polio has been eliminated. In contrast, neighboring Honduras, which has received tens of millions of dollars in economic aid from the U.S., has recently experienced a polio epidemic.

Increasing numbers of U.S. health professionals are providing medical assistance in Central America. "Nicaragua's commitment to improving health," says report co-author Richard Garfield, "provides a unique opportunity for U.S. health professionals who want their work to be effective. But it is painful to see recent health advances jeopardized by those who our President calls "brothers" and "freedom fighters".

(For more information contact: Richard Garfield, DrPH Department of Epidemiology, Columbia University, 600 W. 168, NY, NY 10032, (212) 568-0228.)

CISPES

The United States is now at war in Central America — and there are three things you can do to help us stop it.

I'll tell you what those three things are in a moment. Right now, though, I want to spell out as clearly as I possibly can just how very seriously CISPES views the current situation.

Without telling the American people, the Pentagon has unleased a ruthless air war in El Salvador. The "flying death squads" of the Salvadoran Air Force bomb civilians and combatants alike — they bomb anything that moves.

- In civilian areas like Guazapa, El Salvador, U.S. supplied planes indiscriminately bomb three to four times daily, in what can only be called acts of premeditated murder. I've been told that as the U.S.-trained pilots seek their targets, women in colorful dresses must seek cover lest they draw the fire.
- A Maryknoll nun wrote us on her return from El Salvador, "There were many people...including lots of children with these (napalm and white phosphorous) burns. They cover their entire body and penetrate to the other side, and somehow they travel under the skin."
- Salvadoran troops are forcing massive children evacuations, known as "guindas" in front of ground offensives mapped out by U.S. advisors. People leave what little they own, to run by night and hide by day, living on roots, and stifling their children's cries so as not to be detected by the troops.
- Now we've learned the U.S. has transferred to El Salvador the infamous C-47's (known during the Vietnam War as "Puff the Magic Dragon"). The guns mounted on these planes turn them into chillingly efficient mass murder machines: they can pulverize everything in an area the size of a football field **in a matter of seconds.**

To challenge this brutality by the Reagan Administration, CISPES is organizing a NATIONAL EMERGENCY CAMPAIGN TO STOP THE BOMBING.

** We are organizing nationwide through a national pledge drive, signing up the American people to act to oppose each stage of direct military intervention.

** We are working to free the hundreds of political prisoners my co-worker, Beth Perry,

found when she participated in a recent delegation to the prisons in El Salvador.

** And we are doing everyting we can to alert hundreds of thousands of our fellow Americans to the horror of the U.S.-sponsored bombings.

With your help, our National Emergency Campaign to Stop the Bombing will respond to each escalation of the violence as it occurs. **We are organizing not just to protest the violence but to take PREVENTIVE action.**

We are waging our fight through Congressional pressure, calling on our Congressmembers to act to halt the bombings and letting them know the American people want peace, not war, in Central America.

We are waging our fight in local communities all across the country, educating our neighbors and ourselves about the increasing threat of a full-scale war in Central America.

In shopping centers, community centers, homes, churches, and workplaces, thousands of CISPES volunteers throughout the United States are talking to neighbors and co-workers, showing films and slide-shows, addressing meetings, conducting discussion groups in house meetings, and canvassing door-to-door.

As part of this intensive educational effort, **CISPES is expanding its People-to-People Exchange Project,** bringing Central Americans to tour the U.S. to speak about their lives and their desires for peace in Central America.

We are fighting gunboat diplomacy by building massive public opposition that **actively** blocks the way of the current U.S. path toward intervention.

CISPES is well equipped to do this job. With 450 local committees in 50 states, and close working relationships with numerous other organizations, CISPES plays a unique and crucial role in towns and cities throughout the U.S. as a motivating force for opposition to the widening U.S. role in Central America.

(CISPES — U.S. Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador. P.O. Box 50139, Washington, D.C. 20004, 202/887/5019, 930 F. Street, NW, No. 720, Washington, D.C. 20004.)

West Papua: INVASION

The largest colonization programme in history is now in progress in Indonesia; millions of dollars of international aid are being spent on it. But the mass relocation, which critics claim is no more than a disguised invasion programme, is having a disastrous effect on local environments and the tribal peoples whose lands are being expropriated to make way for the 'development'. Last year the government announced that West Papua was to be the main target for the next phase of the 'transmigration' programme, threatening to make the Papuans a minority in their own lands.

The issue forms the subject of a recent Urgent Action Bulletin issued by Survival International (UAB/PAP/2/APR/85), part of campaign targeted at the funding agencies, notably the World Bank, that are backing the project. Survival International is calling for a suspension of funding for the programme until it guarantees respect for tribal peoples' rights to land and self-determination.

Human rights abuses

The guarantees may be long in coming. Transmigration, as it is legally defined, denies tribal peoples' land rights. Tribals are not even receiving compensation for the huge areas they are losing. Many communities in West Papua have been intimidated into signing away their lands by displays of military force, often after being hectored by Indonesian officials on the benefits of 'development.'

There have been numerous reports of tribals killed for defending their lands. Indeed human rights violations have become so frequent that the respected Jakarta-based Association for Legal Aid Institutes has stated that West Papua is the worst area for human rights abuse in Indonesia.

Tragically, so great is the opposition of the local people to the invasion of their lands, that many are taking up arms in their defense. Over 11,000 refugees fled West Papua into Papua New Guinea last year to escape the escalating violence of the Indonesian military. Once over the border the refugees revealed that fear of transmigration was one of the main reasons for this exodus and the fighting which preceded it.

National security

The real motivation for transmigration (the government plans to move over half a million people to West Papua in the next five years) is political. Ever since 1949, the Indonesian State, born in the ashes of the Dutch Empire of the East Indies, has had to struggle to maintain unity. And though it has paid lip-service to the demands of local peoples through the slogan 'Unity in Diversity', the numerical dominance of the Javanese has meant that its vigorously pursued programmes of 'Indonesianization' have meant little more than 'Javanization' to those on the peripheral islands.

The fact that transmigration is primarily an exercise in ensuring 'national security' is openly admitted by the military government. In March 1985, General Murdani, who commanded the notorious 1975 invasion of East Timor, made this abundantly clear to a seminar held in Jakarta, where he insisted that the Armed Forces must be involved in the selection of settlement sites. The removal of 'obstacles' to land availability needs to be given special attention, he said, to ensure effective 'territorial management.'

Short Notes

The South Pacific Forum 1985

The Heads of Government of the Forum Countries have met every year since 1971. Their grouping is called a "forum" to stress the informality of these annual meetings in which the South Pacific leaders come together in a spirit of friendship and equality, with a minimum of protocol. The Forum works on a basis of consensus, in a manner which accords with South Pacific traditions. *"Ministry of Foreign Affairs", 1982 info bulletin no 2.*

The South Pacific Forum is meeting in Rarotonga, Cook Islands from the 4th to the 6th August this year. This year several urgent issues will be confronted by the Heads of State. The sense of urgency has increased with the Kanak & Tahitian calls for independence and a nuclear free Pacific, and now since the bombing of the Rainbow Warrior in Auckland. The Japanese still plan to dump their waste, the Americans continue to heavily militarize the Pacific region, and the Australian government continues to allow uranium mining on Aboriginal lands.

At the last South Pacific Forum in Tuvalu it was decided that a South Pacific Nuclear Free Zone would be an important initiative because of the lack of progress in international disarmament negotiations. The inter-governmental working group has come with a very watered down version of a nuclear free zone treaty, otherwise known as the Claytons Treaty. Several groups in Australia and Aotearoa have submitted more gutsy proposals to the Heads of State.

IT IS IMPORTANT THAT YOU communicate your concerns with the Heads of Government.

Please write quickly, or telegram the heads of government to support the following:

1) The Peoples Charter for a Nuclear Free & Independent Pacific;
2) the banning of Japanese nuclear waste dumping in the Pacific;
3) the banning of uranium mining in Australia;
4) Kanaky (NEW CALEDONIA) being placed on the UN Decolonization List;
5) East Timors call for self determination from Indonesian invasion;
6) the halt of French testing in the Pacific & withdrawal of bases;
7) the release of Charlie Ching imprisoned in Tahiti since March 2 without charge;
8) the Pacific Peace voyage to Moruroa.
9) for any government initiatives which aim for a nuclear free & independent Pacific.

(Source: Pacific People's Anti-Nuclear Action Committee, P.O. Box 61086 Otara, Auckland, New Zealand.)

Report on Bolivia

June 1985: It's for the first time that I arrive in La Paz. After twenty hours in a jumbo-jet from Frankfurt (Germany) the plane is landing at the highest civil airport of the world in the early morning. I'm one of the first passengers leaving the plane, therefore, I don't have to wait a long time at the passport control or at the customs.

Breathing very deeply because of the thin air, I've my first impressions of the character of the town: Dirty houses, adobe huts, skyscrapers, bad street conditions. I can't really believe that I'm now in a metropole of more than a million inhabitants, most of them Native Americans from the Nation of Aymara, and that it's the highest big city in the world — elevation - 12,600 ft. over sea level! — and that I'm now in South America. Well, after some days of relaxing I have my first trips in this area and I'm able to see how the situation of the Natives is. About half a million Aymara-Indians live in the suburbs of La Paz, at the so-called "Alto". The "Alto" consists of thousands of adobe-houses, which are not very useful in this climate: During the night less than -10 celsius, and during the day there is always sunshine with much UV-rays. You can often see children and grown-ups there, who've got blue marks in the faces from the frost or who've got chilblains. There is no drainage, there are no toilets, there is no flowing water, the street is used for canalisation and as a toilet. The street conditions are worse here than in the city, just soil (and faeces). There is very much poverty at the "Alto" — you could even say, the "Alto" is the slum of La Paz. There is very much unemployment — a result of the miserable economic situation and the high inflation (in a few months about 1000%, i.e. the prices multiplied tenfold!). The result: a strained situation, strikes, blockades because of difficulties at the delivery of Kerosene, which is needed in most of the poorer people's houses for hot meals. Of course, it is mostly the poor people who suffer from the economic chaos, and the poor are all Indians, here in La Paz, mostly Aymara. The jobs they have are, if they have any, to work in the mines (they are the "Mineros") or to work on farms (they are the "Campesinos"). There are also a lot of single men, women and children who are beggars. Also, there are so-called rubbish-women, who go from house to house and collect the rubbish, to feed their pigs and to survive in this way. On the other end of the social ladder are the rich Bolivians, who came from Europe either a few centuries ago or recently, and who are bank managers, farm owners, mine-owners or businessmen in general.

The ancestors of the Aymara are the Indians of Tiwanaco, an Era before the Inca-Era. It's golden age was from 2000 b.c. till 900 a.c. The centre of this civilization was 70 km from La Paz, close to lake Titicaca, at Tiwanaco (Tiahuanaco), a cultural site, which is said to have once been the cultural centre of South America. The few ruins, which the Spanish have left, show a pyramid (probably a temple), a semisubterrean place (maybe also a temple) and some kind of palace. There is also a small harbour nearby. The archeologists know nearly nothing about this civilization. Maybe all these buildings have once been a religious site (like Ladakh in Tibet) or it was the capital of that Nation. The Aymara, the descendants of that mysterious civilization, nowadays are the subjected majority of La Paz ("Peace"), the women mostly still wear the special clothing that was forced upon them during the colonial times: melon hats and special skirts.

Gerrit Jahn of the German Native American Support Association

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ALL ORDERS ARE TO BE PREPAID. THANK YOU!!

LETTERS TO THE EDITORS

Hello Akwesasne Notes,

You recently published some letters condemning your publication of a letter in the Winter issue. These letters railed about German "terrorists" and how terrible it was that you would print a letter seeking support for them. The editors of Notes saw fit to denounce the support that these German "terrorists" have given and apologized profusely for printing the letter.

The letter that you published in the Winter issue was from Barbel Roos. She is a member of a group of relatives and friends of imprisoned anti-imperalists in West Germany. Her sister, Helga Roos, has been imprisoned and held in isolation for years for the heinous crime of being associated with and supporting the RAF (an anti-imperialist guerilla group). How many Native Americans, Latino, Black, Asian and White supporters of Leonard Peltier would be in prison as "terrorists", or "info-systems" (a charge which comes from talking to prisoners) using the same logic? This country has begun to use the same tactics against its resistance movements. We must begin to understand that we are fighting the same enemy as those in Europe.

In this country, no less than 18 people have been jailed for refusal to testify before Federal Grand Juries. These Grand Juries are an arm of the Federal Prosecutors Office seeking to imprison members of the new African, Puerto Rican and North American anti-imperalist, anti-colonial front, as well as Native American resistance. Every one of these groups, their friends, relatives and supporters recognize the right of Native American self-determination. Has the West German or the U.S. government recognized the rights of Native Americans lately?

Barbel Roos asked for support because her sister and friends, who were on a lengthy hunger-strike, need it. These imprisoned people are being held in deplorable conditions, including: total or almost total isolation, unable to receive books, mail and visits — even from legal counsel, and little or no adequate medical attention. These European resistance fighters have always recognized and supported Native American struggles against imperialist domination. They have been fighting against the same enemy and have not been afraid to say so.

Who, in Germany, is so influential that Akwesasne would drop their friends and supporters at a single note? Why — does Akwesasne allow the state, and its obvious minions, to tell them who **is** or **is not** a "terrorist"? Was Geronimo a terrorist?

I sincerely hope that Akwesasne Notes will reflect upon its position in this matter. There are a good many of us (and our numbers are growing) in prison in the U.S., who have been accused of "terrorism" or "supporting" poople accused of it. Because we have dared to question and resist the government — on its own ground — we are labeled "terrorist"

We are not "terrorists" nor have we ever been. Neither are the imprisoned resistance fighters of Europe, Ireland, Peru, Canada, Puerto Rico, Chile, Palestine, Japan, South Africa, Phillipines, Pine Ridge.....

Larry Giddings
Leavenworth, Kansas

Dear Sirs,

No doubt you have been sent much troubling news re: cases similar in content to this one that causes my extreme concern and distress...but, taken over and extended period of time, such flagrant and "above the law" extremes as herein chronicled cannot go unnoticed by your office.

I am the brother to Edison Chiloquin, the legendary Native American who quietly and unheralded withstood the persuasion and pressures of the news media and public opinion for some 10-15 years to finally overcome the "Termination" of our native land...and in so doing, a Bill was passed by Congress and signed into law by Mr. Jimmy Carter, then President of the United States, on December 5, 1980 referred to as the Chiloquin Act, returning some 580 acres to Edison, something no other man had ever done.

I am also the full brother to the deceased, Mrs. Ruth Charles, referred to in the enclosure. It was at my house in Klamath Falls a few short 10-11 years ago that Avery and Ruth Charles fled seeking protection nearly 2 a.m. because the police had, without warning or apparent reason, fired a shot hitting an automobile window-sill with buckshot splintering shot and glass into the face of Avery's oldest boy. They chased the family to my place, surrounded my house and called for the surrender of the whole family. Immediately, I called on the phone for back-up witnesses, Reverend J. Dwight Russel and Mr. Enver Eozgoz and Mr. Larry Barleen (local Presbyterian Minister; local attorney; and local newscaster on Radio KLAD, respectively) who shared a dialogue with the officers surrounding the house in the dark. They were told, and they relayed the message in to me and Avery, that local off-duty officers and even the National Guard were out there to see the action that night...At daylight we secured permission, these reliable witnesses were still there, to transport the boy to the hospital...a large convoy started out (about 5 miles) toward the hospital...but it never got there. The police promptly took the boy away from the parents and into custody. I contacted Mr. David Cargo of Portland, and attorney and one-time Governor of New Mexico, he promptly took the case...but, as you can see, peer pressure of local State Bar Association and financial distress soon ended that initially remarkably successful and productive liaison...bogus charge after prevarication were subsequently dismissed by court action as long as Mr. Cargo was present.

Avery Charles was forced to leave Klamath Falls to simply survive because of this harrassment...he moved to Eugene, Oregon but he might just as well have stayed right here...the continuing police harrassment is the same...in Medford, Klamath Falls, Salem or Eugene. These towns, not so distant apart, aren't so far from Avery's home town of Chiloquin. He truly doesn't want to go on any farther. he doesn't want to continue living this way...where can he turn? Whom can he appeal to? What rights has he?

As you can well see by the cc's at the bottom of this page, I'm sending like appeals to various Indian Organizations with which I have worked with in the past. I cannot see myself as a trouble-**maker** but, rather, as a peacemaker of many years...on the same repetitive theme. LET MY PEOPLE GO!!

Please read the enclosure...they spell out the problem...but they are written by an Indian club inside the walls of Salem State Prison. The problem cannot hardly esculate...but things are seemingly coming to a head. We desperately need help in a big way...but we lack funds, we lack a credible spokes-person...we can supply the evidence but that seems to do no one a bit of good. It has become a way of life that needs addressing by someone of authority. A class-action suit is called for...but you can see how the American Civil Liberties Union has dragged its feet...15 years? I cannot help but mutter over and over, "Incredible!"

Please answer quickly as possible...I've even written to 60 Minutes but they turned us down...I made the mistake of telling the administrative people that we were American Indian.

In closing I wish you well and, I remain,

Sincerely, Mel Chiloquin

(We urge you and legal sources to contact Mel Chiloquin. The material sent us was too much to reprint at this time. Help the Charles family)

Mel Chiloquin, Secretary, Sweet Medicine, Inc., 1526 Etna Street, Klamath Falls, OR 97603.

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White Earth Lands

Continued from page 13

mechanisms, some 94% of our land base has come to be held by non-Indian interests. The federal, state and county governments, followed by a number of summer camps and similar bodies hold a great percentage of land on our reservation. In the meantime, our people live in congregate housing projects, surrounded by "no trespassing" and "private property" signs, and have become tenants in our own homeland.

The Minnesota Congressional Delegation has decided to do something about this- and that is, to TERMINATE INDIAN TITLE to the lands within our reservation currently under land claim. Two bills, proposed by Congressman Arland Stangeland-H.R. 2678, and S.B. 1396, proposed by Senators Rudy Boschwitz and Dave Durenberger, would pay us a miniscule "percapita payment" — totalling $11 million, in return, for terminating our title FOREVER to our reservation lands.

This is no solution. In fact, White Earth is not for sale! We propose that the investigation into the full scale of land alienation (illegal land takings) should be completed. We propose that the White Earth people should have their property rights respected- and that lands illegally taken should be returned to our people. We propose that perhaps the "non-Indian land holder, including the holders of an estimated 75,000 acres of land that is currently for sale" should be "bought out," and this land returned to the Indian people of White Earth. It is time to change the dishonorable dealings with the White Earth Anishinabe people, and Indian people in general.

The proposed legislation is unconstitutional in that it lacks just compensation and due process, is without a valid public purpose, and, when the United States should indeed be vigilant (by the law) in the protection of Indian lands rightfully in trust, is an embarrasment to Congress.

Finally, this legislation is seen as model legislation for the 40 additional Indian reservations where the same problem exists. If they can terminate Indian title within our reservation, they will terminate it on all those other reservations.

If we can stop this bill until December 31st of this year, state of Minnesota enabling legislation (passed to pressure Congress into passing national legislation) will be withdrawn. The Congress will have to start all over. That is our opportunity to bring forth just resolution and legislation. That is our opportunity to have a voice, and protect our property rights.

Please join us in writing to members of the Senate Select Committee on Indian Affairs- and Chair Mark Andrews, Washington, D.C. 20510 and the House Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs- Chair Morris Udall, Washington, D.C. with your opposition. It is time that we saw justice.

Megwetch,
Winona La Duke for Anishinabe Akeeng

Indigenous Peoples of the Peruvian Amazon

Continued from page 18

order to profit from urban and peasant populations which are organized by them as groups of colonists for the Amazon region. They simultaneously create problems for the indigenous populations inhabiting these areas designed by them for colonization purposes.

An example of this is provided by ILGAM (Instito Latinoamericano de Generacion de Emples Masive). Based in Lima, ILGAM organized colonization groups for the jungle. It receives unofficial support from both the government and international foundations. That they are clearly responding to government policy may be proven by the fact that every colonist is registered as an employed worker. In this manner a long list is obtained in the end which serves the government's efforts to demonstrate the fulfillment of Belaunde's promise made during this electoral campaign to create one million job posts.

Furthermore, after the last conflict with Ecuador, a policy of creating "live frontiers" began to be promotioned; that is, the need to effectively occupy the frontier zones with both defense and development aims. This affects our Aguaruna and Huambisa brothers who inhabit this zone.

This is the kind of backdrop against which groups such as ILGEM operate. These, significantly enough, send groups of colonists to the northern frontier, to the precise area where the war conflict with Ecuador developed.

Just as these institutions are emerging directed by unscrupulous persons who exploit the myth of the Amazon as an inhabited region that is wealthy in resources that only await the arrival of colonists in order to reap profits, some do manage to send off many discouraged individuals into the jungle.

The latter are for the most part themselves victims of a system which in the end only benefits the powerful, both at the regional level and in the nation's capital. The officials of the corresponding government bureau in the Ministry of Agriculture have asserted, after being consulted about this, that they neither have any knowledge nor have authorized such colonization schemes. This should give us an idea of how irresponsibly they are being carried out.

SPONTANEOUS COLONIZATION

Finally, one should mention that colonization which is carried out spontaneously and by individuals, is always somehow triggered in the end by the government's propaganda which continously presents the Amazon as both uninhabited and the only way out for those who remain jobless.

It is in this context that the new roads have ended up attracting those colonists who have settled along the areas where they were being built and, at times, even when they existed as mere plans.

END PART TWO

Letters to the Editor

Dear Native and Natural People,

I will try to keep my letter as brief as possible even though I have much ground to cover and possibly some new ideas to present.

I am writing first of all to take issue with the continued repetition both in this newspaper and by some indigenous groups of racist caricatures of white European descended people such as is found on p. 22 of the Summer '85 *Notes* "That very Western, if you will European, imperative to destroy the 'Unknown Quantity' reared its ugly head". And other statements implying that "The White Man's Way" is the path of pollution, genocide and imbalance.

Is this anti-Native of me to protest this phraseology? Not at all. I raise the point because the repetition of these statements itself is a form of anti-Nativism. Why? Because the all-important fact omitted from the White Man equals Evil & Imbalance quation is that you are forgetting that White, Europeans are themselves natives. At one time they were the indigenous people of Europe. The Native, Wotan-worshipping pre-Christian White tribes of Europe respected the earth as their mother and, though fierce warriors, never imposed a cultural imperialism or "chosen people" racism over those they had defeated in battle.

To continue to say "European Whites" committed atrocities or polluting activities against the earth mother and her people is erronious. It omits a very important point, that these are Judeo-Christianized white people. Prior to the imposition of the weird Bible cult on the natives of Europe, they were native and natural and in balance as any other indigenous people, so it is an injustice to all natives to say "white people's systems" created evil. No. Judeo-Christian white people did them and that distinction should always be made.

To those who reject this and think the distinction is petty or irrelevant, I put this to you: what is the current heinous trend toward the Mormonizing of the Natives of the American Southwest continues to such an extent that the Old Ways and Religion were virtually wiped out, as the Old Ways and Religion of the Wise European "pagans" (Pagan-Latin for pagani or country people) were annihilated?

Would it be right or just for future people oppressed by Mormonized Hopis or Dine who have gone crazy from Mormonism and cooperate in pollution — would it be just for their victims to say — look at the Indian Way of Things, it is deadly toxic and it is oppressive? No, it would be injustice for the distinction would always have to be made between what Mormonized Indians are doing and the Real Indian Way. The same holds true for Whites. What we are seeing today is the ravages of a White tribe hostage to an alien book and a Judeo-Christian tradition that is not of their land or people. If you want to see why these pitiful whites act the way they do read the Old Testament Jewish "Holy" Bible-Joshua, Sammuel, Kings etc. It is full of instructions to kill and massacre Native peoples.

The sentiments I have expressed will not find interest among the Marxist or city-bred intellectuals who want to use reverse racism to portray whites as instrinsically evil to further alienate all Natives from examining the roots and Old Ways instead of some damn book-Bible, Das Kapital or whatever.

Just because the wisdom tradition of the "pagan" Whites has been crushed out of TV and industrial media is no excuse for Natives to be unaware. Read or refer to these books for a sample of Native White ways and religion and let *all* Native people unite around The Old Ways and the Oral Traditions, and the grandfather trees.

Sources: Janet and Colin Bord, *Earth Rites: Fertility Practices in Pre-Industrial Britain* (Granada Books). *The White Goddess,* Robert Graves. *Blood and Soil,* Anna Bramwell (Kensal Press).

I would like to see more Native study of these resources to help combat the internalization of our oppression. To understand that it is not the White Man's Way that is the enemy but the way of the Judeo-Christianized White Man and his "isms" concepts" and ideologies based on artificial anti-Natural books from the Bible to the communist manifesto.

It is these books and the industrial media that have gotten even otherwise aware Native people to chatter on about "The Holocaust" of World War II even as the Amazon Rain Forest People are eviscerated and exterminated by capitalists and the Afghan tribal people are holocausted by communists.

I am Megan Capelthwaite, a proud member of the Celtic tribe. Three of my ancestor grandmothers were generals of our army fighting the Romans and Caesar in an attempt to repel the first step in our enslavement. I hope and pray that Native People everywhere will support the White People of Europe trying to recover our lost heritage in the wake of the Roman/Judeo-Christian onslaught.

Thank you. Blessed Be.
Megan Capelthwaite
Ithaca Human Rights
P.O. Box 652
Trumansburg, NY 14886

Greetings All, there at Akwesasne,

My name is Ramzadin, I'm presently imprisoned in California in famous 'Folsom State Prison Camp.

I have been fortunate enough to be receipt of your newspaper, i.e. Notes. I'm constantly learning something of great value, insight, spiritually potent, when I peruse the pages of A.N.

Its over-due time that people started really reading, studying, understanding the peoples, the national entities, that originally occupied this particular hemisphere etc. Being an African, or of African descent, it is more than just a passing notion, fancy for me to be up, be educated to most if not all fellow oppressed victims of European colonialism, western/capitalistic expansion...

Anyhow, the main reason I'm addressing you this evening is to ask you, "which nation/tribe was the first to settle in the Americas? Was it actually the Aztecs? I just recently got into a dispute debate with another person over such. And onbeknowest to him I could answer that question.

All I am familiar with from my historical studies is that all Indians, actually all people came originally from Asia, being thus the Asiatic peoples of Peru, Egypt, etc. travelled or migrated to the so-called New World bringing along their inherent agricultural farming, architectural skills, thus great cultivation know-how & the construction of great temples, pyramids, etc. of the Aztecs, Incas, etc.

Earnestly,
Ramzadin N. Abdullah
From Folsom Prison

Dear Mr. Abdullah,

Historians, and especially anthropologists, usually not natives of this continent, have tried for years to prove that the Native American Indian migrated from Siberia. He has not been able to prove it because it is not so. We know where we come from, and believe us, it is right here on this continent.

The anthros will never be able to say "See, they didn't really come from here either." That is what they wish and the reason they need it is to justify the on-going land stealing and destruction of our nation.

editor...

Dear Friends,

I am shocked about some reactions of readers to your article about German-political prisoners in A.N. 3/85 and about your comment.

Some words in beginning to avoid misunderstandings: I have a lot of critics to the RAF, too, but it is wrong to make it easy and overtake the propaganda of state to criticise the RAF. You must know, here in West Germany is a lot of repressions against humans and nature: the forests are dying, millions of people are without work, the NATO and the westgerman government prepares a new war in Europe, the life of people is poisoned through TV, supermarkets, massconsumption. The people are very far away from the natural life of the creation. For example, at the moment the government tries to kill a whole forest with hundred thousands of trees near Wackersdorf/Bayern for a nuclear factory and for constructing a lot of Plutonium for nuclear bombs.

A lot of people know there is not more time, the life is dead, human beings and nature have not much chances against war, destruction of nature and repression of the people. We have a democratic System, but the real power are the militarians and the great industrial bosses. West Germany does not only repress their own people, a lot of countries of the third world are repressed, too, through the imperialists there, not open as in former times, but "indirect" through economic repression and so on.

Even South-Africa is helped through the government here and through a lot of banks and firms. Resistance is repressed through censorships of Newspapers, arrestings of people, searchings of homes and terrible conditions for prisoners, not only for the RAF. A part of people is awaked here, they want a life without government, without violence, without repression. It is an illusion to reach these aims only through peaceful ways, because the imperialists and capitalists here will never give up voluntary their power and their money. We will have to defend us, maybe with weapons, too, but there is no other way. Some killings of the RAF — have been a mistake, I think we have only the right to kill for direct self-defense, but the people of the RAF are not normal "murders" and the victims are not innocent.

And which Indian is not proud of Little Big Horn? Who criticises the armed fight of Indians in Nicaragua? And who criticises the right of Nicaraguan People to defend themselves against US-Invasion. Some may say, there is war and in Germany is peace, but this is not true. Throughout the world is war, in east, west, north and south, war against nature, people, which fight for their freedom. It is difficult to find the right way to defend themselves against the governments, but it is not good to have no solidarity to other fighting groups and to overtake the state propaganda.

Christian Luppatsch
West Germany

Brothers and Sisters, of the Mohawk Nation,

I am of the Algonquian Nation, not too far removed by Blood, to the Mohawk Nation. I have read the Akwesasne Notes for many years now, and have been kept informed of events in and about reservations, the good, bad, etc. A Sioux friend of mine, who is now gone to the Great Spirit to join his people, once told me, if a man yells loud enough with his mouth, shut, "in time" he will be heard around the world, and make the universe vibrate with the loudest Sound of Silence.

What he meant, though I did not know at the time, was this,...Do not forsake your people, though you would not complain, listen well to those who speak with fork-tongues, their deeds will speak the truth for them. Never want anything more, or less than mother earth offers you, live not for yourself, but your people, for it is your people, who can teach you to teach. Above all, Love your people enough even if it means your Death. For if a man can gain such wisdom in life, surely, Death will come easy.

My friend was Frank Fools-Crow Chief of the Ogalala Sioux Nation, Pine Ridge, S.D.

I thought I would share his words with you, since its taken many years to understand them, and what he meant. Though I am Algonquian Native American, this old Chief Fools-Crow, will not be forgotten.

Your Brother, Rich Yellowcorn

Greetings Editors,

Enclosed is a copy of a letter sent to the Argus Leader Newspaper here in Sioux Falls, S.D. I hope its possible to publish this article only because it has great importance concerning Sioux. I personally know Ms. Norma Wilson and spoke to her about myself sending this article to your fine newspaper, as it circulates world wide.

The matter concerning the Black Hills should be known by all people who are involved with prayers and hopes that some day possible they will be returned. This dream is alive in many people as well as brothers and sisters who are serving sentences for these sacred Hills because they fought against outrageous odds to hopefully get them returned.

However, Norma Wilson is one in a million among the white society who understands the Sioux's need for the Black Hills, she needs nothing to comfort her materialistically nor financially but she has a special kind of understanding and concern for the Sioux that personally makes me proud of my nationality and color.

This copy enclosed is going to be passed around to certain concerned people here in South Dakota to give new light on a long time hope that sometimes gets weak because of the steady strong resistance the state of South Dakota has.

Thank you for your time and deep consideration, and keep up the good work with your outstanding newspaper.

"For the People Public Relations"
Gabriel A. White Bull

Partial Return of Lands Illegally Taken — Bradley's Land Plan Should be Approved

I want to voice my support of the bill which has been introduced by Sen. Bill Bradley of new Jersey to return 1.5 million acres of the Black Hills to eight Sioux Tribes.

First of all, it is important to emphasize that Sen. Bradley's is a very modest bill. There are about 7.3 million acres of the Black Hills, and the land the Bradley bill would return would not include any land leased, or owned by private citizens or the state of South Dakota.

The Dakota people, who lost half of the state and a considerable area in surrounding states when an act of congress took their land in 1877, thereby, breaking the terms of the Ft. Laramie Treaty of 1868, can only consider the tiny amount of land that would be returned to them a Pittance. But that land would be worth far more to them, both for religious and monetary reasons, than the $105 million in damages awarded them in a 1980 court settlement.

We have waited more than a 100 years far too long — to restore a land base to the Dakota. It is sad, in fact disgusting, that none of the law-makers of South Dakota had the courage to introduce the bill themselves. Their failure to take this crucial step to return to the Dakota an adequate land base reveals the baseness in all of them.

Neither Attorney General Mark Meirhenry, who has joked about the bill, nor Sen. Larry Pressler, Sen. James Abdnor or Rep. Tom Daschle, who casually dismissed it, deserve to be considered anything but politicians. Not one of them has the courage we should demand of statesmen or stateswomen to do what is right and to work to see that justice is done.

I am sick and tired of the divisiveness and racism our so-called representatives are fostering. It is time for us all to recognize that the fact that South Dakota is the home of the county with the lowest per capita income in the nation and it is on the Pine Ridge Reservation. It is time for us to do something to support the Dakota people in their struggle for a life for themselves and their children. They should be in our heart. It is from them that we have our name, our land, our agricultural way of life.

The prosperity of the Dakota would strengthen us all.

-Norma C. Wilson
Vermillion S. D.

(This is a copy from the Argus Leader Newspaper, Sioux Falls, S.D., 57103)

Dear Brothers and Sisters,

On behalf of the Seven Fires Indian Council, greetings.

The Seven Fires Indian Council is a recognized organization within the Department of Corrections of the State of Wisconsin.

The Council's primary objective is, to provide Religious and Spiritual identity to our group members. For the most part, a lack of Religious and Spiritual identity has lead us to prison.

In meeting our objectives, we fall short because of a lack of funding. The Seven Fires Indian Council is a self-supporting group and although we donate what we can to our group account, our funds remain quite minimal. Because of this, I am appealing to the readers of Akwesasne Notes for donations.

Your donations will help us by allowing us to build up our group account which in turn would allow us funds for gas money to bring in our Elders, Spiritual Leaders and other guests that can help us not only while we are incarcerated, but also upon release. Your donations will also help us to build our Sacred Sweat-Lodge, purchase bilingual educational programs, help in paying for our Feasts and Pow Wows, and much much more.

On behalf of the Seven Fires Indian Council, I give great thanks for any donation you can make. These donations can be sent to The Seven Fires Indian Council, (Group Account) Green Bay Correctional Institution, P.O. Box 19033, Green Bay, WI 54307.

May the Creator be held in your heart. Peace.

Many Thanks,
Richard Self, Chairman
Seven Fires Indian Council

Poster E: THE GREAT FEATHER DANCE by Harold "Gesso" Thomas, ©Akwesasne Notes 1985
17" X 23" Black on White, Available November 1st
Price: $3.00 each (+ postage)
Akwesasne Notes, Mohawk Nation, P.O. Box 196, Rooseveltown, N.Y. 13683-0196